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A STUDY OF INTEGRATION IN RACIALLY IMBALANCED URBAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS--A DEMONSTRATION AND EVALUATION. FINAL REPORT.

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THE PILOT PROJECT WHICH IS REVIEWED IN THIS REPORT EVALUATED THE FIRST STEPS TAKEN TOWARD THE DESEGREGATION OF THE ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS OF A MEDIUM-SIZED NORTHERN CITY. PART OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PROJECT WAS A SOCIOPOLITICAL CASE STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, WHICH OBSERVED AND RECORDED CITY'S INITIAL DESEGREGATION EFFORTS. A DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM, ANOTHER ACTIVITY, ASSESSED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN "INTEGRATION TEAM" OF FOUR "HUMAN RELATIONS SPECIALISTS" WHO PROVIDED INFORMATION AND COUNSELING AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES IN THE DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS. A TESTING PROGRAM WHICH INCLUDED ACADEMIC, SOCIAL, AND PERSONAL VARIABLES ALSO WAS CONDUCTED AMONG THE STUDENTS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS AND APPROPRIATE COMPARISON GROUPS, AND THE OPINIONS OF PARENTS REGARDING THE CHANGE AND ITS EFFECTS WERE SURVEYED. THE RESULTS OF THE FORMAL TESTING WERE NOT CONCLUSIVE, BUT IT SEEMED THAT NO ONE INVOLVED WAS HARMED BY THE DESEGREGATION EFFORTS AND THAT THERE WERE SOME BENEFITS. SIGNIFICANTLY, NEGRO MOTHERS WHOSE CHILDREN WERE BUSED TO A WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOL HAD POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHANGE AND THE BUSING. QUESTIONS ARE RAISED IN THE REPORT ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE INTEGRATION SPECIALISTS TO THE SCHOOL SYSTEM, AND A SUGGESTION MADE FOR A LONG-RANGE SOLUTION TO SEGREGATION IN THE FORM OF AN EDUCATIONAL PARK FOR FUTURE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. EXTENSIVE TABLES AND APPENDIXES ARE INCLUDED IN THIS REPORT. (LB)

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FINAL REPORT

A STUDY OF INTEGRATION IN RACIALLY IMBALANCED
URBAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Demonstration and Evaluation

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May, 1967

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Syracuse University Youth Development Center
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Preface and Acknowledgements

The study of attempts to eliminate de facto public school segregation in America in the 1960's presents a disturbing dilemma. The problem is complex, with vast social and psychological ramifications, and we are just beginning to learn how to handle them so as to promote the goals and ideals implicit in the principles for which we claim to stand. Much new knowledge is needed, and much of it concerns the long-range impact of various kinds of programs and practices on human development and dignity. Yet, time is the commodity above all others that we do not have. The century we wasted is gone, and the present situation is one of change too rapid to permit the orderly accumulation of the knowledge that would be so helpful.

The pilot project reported here is an attempt to meet this problem by investigating a wide spectrum of concerns related to de facto school segregation relatively quickly but carefully. We hope that it will have a significant spin-off value by suggesting specific areas for future work as well as offering significant implications for practice. Events in the four years since it was first suggested demonstrate amply that the time for action is now, if we are not already too late.

Regrettably, the nature of the project and commitments to many of the individuals who gave essential help prevent the writer from acknowledging some of the most important contributions. The school system involved was treading new and politically treacherous ground, yet it was willing to expose itself to careful scrutiny from outside in the process. This was an act of courage and an act of trust. The research team is most appreciative of the confidence that has been demonstrated and will make every effort to maintain that confidence. Not all that appears in the report reflects favorably on the school system involved, but this is a school system that opened itself to criticism as well as praise in the hope that its experience would prove to be of value in other communities.

Many individuals ranging from classroom teachers and non-professional personnel to members of the Board of Education gave of themselves to help. The Superintendent of Schools, who also served with the writer as the project's Co-Director, was of particular assistance, and his continuing expressions of confidence in the writer are most appreciated. It is only with the greatest reluctance that his name is omitted. Many people outside the school system helped as well; our sincere thanks go to all of them.

The project could not have been undertaken without the financial assistance of the National Institute of Mental Health and the U.S. Office of Education. Additional financial support was provided by the Ford Foundation through the Youth Development Center, and some of the data analysis was facilitated by an award from the National Science Foundation to the Computing Center at Syracuse University. Directly and through the Youth Development Center, Syracuse University was helpful in other ways as well. We are grateful to all these groups for their assistance.

At the suggestion of the Office of Education, an Advisory Committee was formed to provide consultation to the project leadership as work progressed. The three men chosen were most helpful, both whenever one of the varied administrative and methodological problems related to the project arose and in providing general suggestions and guidance as requested. They include Lee J. Cary of the University of Missouri, Jack A. Kirkland of St. Louis University, and Raymond A. Patouillet of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Staff personnel were numerous, of course, and only those whose service to the project were "above and beyond the call of duty" are specifically mentioned here. The work of the seven contributing authors is acknowledged as it appears in the text. Janice Asmus and Fern Freel handled project liaison from the headquarters of the Youth Development Center in Syracuse, New York. Lena Henkin and Viva Klim, who typed most of the final draft, deserve particular credit; they worked long and irregular hours as needed and were always willing to do more. The author's father, Harold Beker, and a close friend, Harvey Schipper, took time from other pressing activities to lend special editorial and other assistance in the final stages of the preparation of the manuscript.

Above all, credit for any good that may come of the work must be shared abundantly with my wonderful wife, Emily. She has probably spent the first year of our marriage wondering whether she married me or the project and has helped in more concrete ways than I can list. In addition, she has been my inspiration and the one who helped me return my nose to the grindstone in the many inevitable hours of discouragement. Our shared hope is that the work reported here will contribute in at least a small way to the achievement of the equality of opportunity that is the essence of the American dream.

J.B.

Table of Contents

	Page
<u>Preface and Acknowledgements</u>	ii
<u>Table of Contents</u>	iv
<u>List of Tables</u>	vii
<u>Introduction</u>	1
Problem, Recent Related Research, Background and Objectives, Organization of the Project	
 SECTION ONE--A SOCIOPOLITICAL CASE HISTORY	
<u>Part One--Setting the Stage: Protest and Accommodation</u>	15
Background and Methodology	15
Chapter One--The City and Its Schools	21
Chapter Two--The Case History	38
I. Stirrings of Public Attention	38
II. The Protest Expands	51
III. Negotiations	65
IV. The Board Formulates Its First Plan	83
V. Public Reaction and Board Action	96
VI. Student Migrations	116
VII. Epilogue	126
<u>Part Two--Analysis and Conclusions</u>	155
 SECTION TWO--THE DEMONSTRATION	
<u>Part Three--Special Helpers: Their Role and Function</u>	168
Background and Methodology	168
Chapter Three--The Evolving Organization of the Integration Team in the School System	170
Chapter Four--Special Services in the Schools: The Work of the Integration Team	189

	Page
<u>Part Four--Conclusions: The Demonstration Program Assessed</u>	205
SECTION THREE--THE CHILDREN, THE SCHOOLS, AND THE PARENTS	211
<u>Part Five--Participant Observation</u>	212
Background and Methodology	212
Chapter Five--Desegregation in Practice	216
I. Gilbert Elementary School	216
II. Tyler Elementary School	228
III. Dexter Junior High School	239
IV. Jefferson Junior High School	253
V. Concluding Comments	265
Chapter Six--New Student Assimilation	266
I. Orientation	267
II. Design	283
III. Findings	289
IV. Discussion	306
<u>Part Six--The Testing Program</u>	314
Background and Methodology	314
Chapter Seven--Test Results in the Elementary Schools	321
Chapter Eight--Test Results in the Junior High Schools	386
<u>Part Seven--The Parent Opinion Survey</u>	398
Background and Methodology	398
Chapter Nine--Social Characteristics and Educational Aspirations: Parents of Bused Transfers, Refusers, and Host School Children	401
Chapter Ten--Perceptions of Sending and Host Elementary Schools	420
Chapter Eleven--Perceptions of Pupil Assimilation	435
<u>Part Eight--Concluding Statement</u>	443

	Page
SUMMARY	445
REFERENCES	459

APPENDICES

A. Excerpt from Original Proposal Describing Integration Team	465
B. Integration Unit Summary and An Implementation Frame of Reference--December, 1964	474
C. Sample Logs Written by Integration Team Members	480
D. Sample Participant Observation Field Notes	493
E. Parent Opinion Survey--Sample Interview Schedule	516
F. Papers Based on the Project	536

List of Maps and Tables

	Page
I. <u>Maps:</u>	
1. Socioeconomic Areas and Elementary School District Boundaries, 1961-62	39
2. Proposed Boundary Changes Directly Affecting Parker Elementary School for 1962-63	42
II. <u>Tables:</u>	
2.1 The Board's Plan and Actual Student Transfers, 1964-65	117
2.2 Estimated and Actual Percentages of Nonwhite Students	119
6.1 New Student Assimilation Ratings by Individual Schools, 1964-65	291
6.2 New Student Assimilation Ratings by Socioeconomic Status, 1964-65	293
6.3 New Student Assimilation Ratings by Race in All Schools, 1964-65	294
6.4 Student Self Assimilation Ratings by Socioeconomic Status in Four Schools, 1964-65	296
6.5 Teacher Assimilation Ratings by Socioeconomic Status of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65	298
6.6 Observer Assimilation Ratings by Socioeconomic Status of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65	299
6.7 Student Self Assimilation Ratings by Race in Four Schools, 1964-65	301
6.8 Teacher Assimilation Ratings by Race of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65	302
6.9 Observer Assimilation Ratings by Race of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65	303
7.1 Intelligence Test Scores--Grades One to Three	322
7.2 Intelligence Test Scores--Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Four to Six	323

	Page
7.3 Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, Total Raw Scores--Grade One	327
7.4 Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Two	328
7.5 Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Three	330
7.6 Stanford Achievement Test--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Four	333
7.7 Stanford Achievement Test--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Five	334
7.8 Iowa Test of Basic Skills--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Six	335
7.9 Teacher Ratings of General Personal Adjustment--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	339
7.10 Teacher Ratings of Responsibility and Effort--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	340
7.11 Teacher Ratings of Creativity and Initiative--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	341
7.12 Teacher Ratings of Integrity--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	342
7.13 Teacher Ratings of Social Adjustment--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	343
7.14 Teacher Ratings of Sensitivity to Others--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	344
7.15 Teacher Ratings of Group Orientation--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	345
7.16 Teacher Ratings of Adaptability to Rules and Conventions--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined	346
7.17 Teacher Ratings: Gilbert School--Grades Four, Five, and Six Combined	347
7.18 California Test of Personality--Grade Three	351
7.19 California Test of Personality--Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Four to Six	352
7.20 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School--Grade Two	355

	Page
7.21 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School-- Grade Three	356
7.22 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School-- Both Grades	357
7.23 Choices by Negro Transfer Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages--Grade Two	358
7.24 Choices by White New Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages--Grade Two	359
7.25 Choices by White Old Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages--Grade Two	360
7.26 Choices by Negro Transfer Pupils at Tyler Elemen- tary School in Percentages--Grade Three	361
7.27 Choices by White New Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages--Grade Three	362
7.28 Choices by White Old Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages--Grade Three	363
7.29 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School--Grade Two	364
7.30 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School-- Grade Three	365
7.31 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School--Grade Four	366
7.32 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School--Grade Five	367
7.33 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School--Grade Six	368
7.34 Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Two through Six	369

	Page
7.35 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Two	370
7.36 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Two	371
7.37 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Three	372
7.38 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Three	373
7.39 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Four	374
7.40 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Four	375
7.41 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Five	376
7.42 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Five	377
7.43 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Six	378
7.44 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Grade Six	379
7.45 Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Total	380
7.46 Choices by White Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Total	381
7.47 Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages--Total	382
8.1 California Test of Mental Maturity--Grade Nine	388
8.2 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Vocabulary)--Junior High Schools	389
8.3 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Reading Comprehension)--Junior High Schools	390

	Page
8.4 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Language Skills)-- Junior High Schools	391
8.5 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Work-Study Skills)-- Junior High Schools	392
8.6 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Arithmetic Skills)-- Junior High Schools	393
8.7 Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Composite)--Junior High Schools	394
8.8 California Test of Personality (Personal Adjust- ment)--Junior High Schools	395
8.9 California Test of Personality (Social Adjustment)-- Junior High Schools	396
8.10 California Test of Personality (Total Adjustment)-- Junior High Schools	397
9.1 Selected Characteristics of Women Who Accepted or Refused the Busing Program for Their Children	409
9.2 Ordinal Position of Study Child among "Potential" 1964-65 Sending School Siblings, by Busing Decision of Parents	414
9.3 Educational Aspirations, Expectations, and Opinions about Education Required, by Busing Decision	416
10.1 Perceptions of the Sending School by Mothers of Bused Children	426
10.2 Perceptions of the Host School by Mothers of Bused Children	427
10.3 Perceptions of the Sending School by Mothers of Nontransferred Children	428
10.4 Perceptions of the Host School by Host Mothers	431

Introduction

Problem:

When this project was conceived in the summer of 1963, the problem with which it was concerned could be simply stated as the integration of de facto segregated public schools outside the South. There was wide recognition, at least in professional circles, that racially segregated education was inherently unequal, and the Supreme Court had affirmed this principle in law almost a decade before. Subsequent events and new perceptions of the problem within the community studied and throughout the nation and even the world made it necessary to adjust some elements of the work, although its original, fundamental concern was retained.

The evolving societal context of the project may be clarified if one recalls that it was initiated before the "War on Poverty" was introduced into public policy, before the frustrations of minority groups erupted in the violent demonstrations that are symbolized by Watts, before the challenge of providing quality education for the children of the poor was explicitly presented to the American people through proposed and, subsequently, approved massive new federal legislation. Divisive rallying cries like, "We want black power!" and "Burn, baby, burn!" began to replace "We shall overcome!" during the course of the project. A new epoch had begun, and the project, designed to contribute more to practice than to academic knowledge, could ignore it only at the price of becoming irrelevant.

While the critical questions and the nature of the basic problems themselves were being thrust into the forefront of national attention and, inevitably, redefined at the same time, most of the data were necessarily gathered according to the plan described in the approved proposal. Appropriate additions were made when circumstances permitted, but the most significant changes were in the kinds of questions asked of the data that were available and in the kinds of overall conclusions presented. In effect, unfolding events and expanding insights led to a reconceptualization of the fundamental problem just as they led to new directions in national policy and local practice. It is hoped that the evolution of the project has been congruent with that of the nation's needs and efforts and, thus, that the work reported here will contribute maximally to our overall educational effectiveness.

In the years just preceding the development of the project, the "problem" was often defined as one of inadequate educational programs and resources in low income areas. Special programs such as New York

City's Higher Horizons and the Banneker Project in St. Louis were implemented in an effort to compensate for the perceived deficit. Centerline had its own version, the Jefferson Project, supported largely by the Ford Foundation and the State Education Department.¹ These programs were designed to provide extra services to pupils with special needs and, thus, to contribute to the equalization of educational opportunities for "culturally deprived" youngsters. In some cases, at least, there is evidence that such programs made little difference beyond what may have been due to initial bursts of enthusiasm and publicity. Others may have been more effective, but dispute remains on this point and solid supportive evidence is lacking. In at least one large city, for example, academic gains attributed to the compensatory program seem to have been equivalent to those in a comparable, adjoining district without the special services. The time was soon after Sputnik I, when the entire nation suddenly became excited and concerned about the "education gap." In the early 1960's, however, the "problem" seemed to change.

Perhaps due to a convergence between the growing strength of the emergent civil rights movement and growing disillusion with compensatory education, desegregation became the new thrust. At first, civil rights advocates called for the reassignment of inner-city Negro children to schools serving predominantly white middle class populations. Specific pressure for "two-way desegregation" also developed, based largely on the premise that whites are responsible for the situation and should, therefore, bear at least an equal burden in the process of setting it right. The emergence of this stance as a major force may ultimately be seen in historical perspective as marking the beginning of the divisive emphasis in the civil rights struggle, since it implicitly views the races as groups (with conflicting interests) rather than as categories of individuals. It was during this period of special concern with desegregation and integration of de facto segregated public schools that the project reported here was initiated.²

¹The names "Centerline" and "Jefferson" are both pseudonyms, as is explained in more detail below.

²An important distinction between desegregation and integration has been widely disseminated and too often forgotten in practice. In this report, an effort has been made to reserve the term "integration" for situations in which academic and social assimilation between newcomers and "host" populations has been achieved. "Desegregation" is used to refer simply to the ending of overt segregation.

Events and experience subsequently tempered the goals of many committed civil rights workers, educators, and other concerned citizens. It became clear that effective school desegregation would be virtually impossible in many of our largest cities, given present trends in Negro-white population ratios, residential patterns, physical distances, and political boundaries and restrictions. There was a growing realization that the problem reflected social class segregation and poor schools as well as racial segregation, although racial minorities were often doubly handicapped and most in need of help. At least in the big cities, much of the emphasis seemed to shift from immediate school desegregation to assuring quality education for all, education that would be responsive to local needs and in harmony with local conditions. Breaking down barriers to desegregation began to be seen as a longer range goal.¹ In smaller cities, on the other hand, quality, integrated education remains a realistic goal for the immediate future. Therefore, the project may have more direct relevance for these communities than for our largest urban centers. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the findings and techniques reported will be of help in the education of disadvantaged youth in general, a problem of which racial factors and desegregation represent but one facet.

As a result of the progression outlined above, attention turned to a seemingly more sophisticated and certainly more extensive family of compensatory education programs, mostly financed by new federal legislation.

Desegregation remained a central concern, but conceptions of the problem of equality of social and economic opportunity were increasingly broadened to include other kinds of contributions to be made through educational programs. No longer was school desegregation seen as necessarily the most direct route to equality, although the latest and, perhaps, broadest studies yet reported (as cited below) seem to suggest that it may be a prerequisite. Our understanding of the deficits imposed by centuries of inequality has been refined, and we are in a better position to design ameliorative programs. The problem areas with which this project has become concerned can, therefore, be restated as including the

¹In some cases, perhaps most notably involving the recent, highly publicized controversies in New York City (e.g., I.S. 201), pressures for autonomous "black schools" have developed among powerful, unofficial groups.

following:

1. The racial desegregation of non-southern, de facto segregated public schools, with particular emphasis on smaller and medium-sized cities;
2. Maximizing educational opportunities for all when low income children, including those representing racial and other minority groups, go to school with higher achieving, white, middle class children; and
3. Educating as effectively as possible in those ghetto schools which seem destined to remain with us for the foreseeable future.

The first of these areas represents, of course, our original commitment and the thrust of our research methodology. The second concerns primarily the demonstration phase of the work distilled through the experience of others as reported in the interim. The third, to which we address ourselves along with the other two in our conclusions, reflects primarily the progression of events since the project was initiated and the increasing sophistication of our own judgment about how we might make the greatest contribution.

Recent Related Research:

The evolution of our efforts to provide equal educational opportunities for all our citizens, reviews briefly above, is reflected in the research literature that has emerged in the last few years. The volume of such material is probably unprecedented, and much of what we have is in the form of informal and/or unpublished reports. An exhaustive survey will not be attempted here; the Office of Education has established clearinghouses and information retrieval services for that purpose. Rather, a small number of the seemingly most influential documents will be cited as they reflect the progression in public policy that provided the backdrop for the project reported here.

Education in Depressed Areas¹ is a compilation of papers pre-

¹A. Harry Passow (Ed.), Education in Depressed Areas. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962.

sented in mid-1962 by many of the most prominent professionals whose work was concerned with the education of the disadvantaged in the early 1960's. Reflecting the general level of concern at that time, only three of its fifteen chapters are directed explicitly and primarily toward racial factors. Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation,¹ a report of a mid-1964 research conference, gives brief, separate consideration to what it calls the "Special Case of the Negro Student." The importance of racial integration is noted in both of these books, but neither focuses on it. Even research centered on the effects of minority group and class status or academic achievement tended not to deal centrally with the issue of school integration.² It seems clear from these germinal resources, still often cited, that desegregation had not yet emerged as the core of concern in the way it soon would. Perhaps the emergence of broad awareness of and concern with segregation as a (if not the) critical factor can be dated from the 1964 publication of Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change,³ by Haryou. This report documents the cumulative educational deficits of Negro children attending segregated ghetto schools, emphasizes the importance of school desegregation, and proposes temporary programs to help to fill the gap until desegregation can be achieved. Perhaps in large measure, it symbolizes and reflects the pressure for school desegregation that led to the present project. While school desegregation had previously received much attention in the professional literature,⁴ it was now more firmly

¹ Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

² See, for example, Martin Deutsch, Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement. Ithaca, New York: The Society for Applied Anthropology, 1960 (Monograph No. 2).

³ Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change. New York: Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., 1964.

⁴ See, for example, the papers presented in Hubert H. Humphrey (Ed.), School Desegregation: Documents and Commentaries. New York: Crowell, 1964.

than ever coupled with explicit and fundamental concern for the educational needs of the "disadvantaged."

The emphasis was soon to shift again, this time back toward compensatory education, as it became clear that the problems encountered in attempts to desegregate school systems in big cities were virtually insurmountable on a short-term basis. Children were suffering in the meantime, and the search for ways to help them despite segregation was accelerated. The "new look" at compensatory education programs is reflected in the recent survey, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged,¹ a description of such programs across the country. Race and, more specifically, racial integration are not the focus of the presentation, although many of the programs described were, in fact, designed primarily for and are serving mostly Negro youngsters.² Detailing a proposal for privately-managed, inner-city schools,³ the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty quotes the Panel on Educational Research and Development of the President's Science Advisory Committee: "By all known criteria, the majority of urban and rural slum schools are failures" (p. 1). Here again, while it is recognized that racial minority groups need help that is disproportionate to their numbers, the solution is not posed as necessarily involving immediate, total school desegregation.

Most recently, two extensive studies conducted under federal auspices may have begun to swing the emphasis back in the direction of desegregation as a necessary condition, although it has become increasingly clear that it may not be a sufficient one. Responding to a congressional mandate, the U. S. Office of Education conducted a national survey of educational opportunities and submitted its report in mid-1966.³ It found a pervasive

¹Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson, Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged (Programs and Practices: Preschool through College). New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966.

²Harvey Pressman, "New Schools for the Poor: Designs for Equality and Excellence." Washington, D.C.: Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, 1966, Mimeo.

³James S. Coleman, et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966.

pattern of racial segregation and reported that minority groups, particularly Negroes, tend to be provided with inferior educational resources and to achieve less well than whites in the same region of the country. A major conclusion of the report is that,

. . . if a white pupil from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of education is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase (p. 22).

Since only a small proportion of Negro homes provide what the report refers to as "educational strength," it is apparent that this report indicates, at least by implication, that desegregation is needed to equalize and maximize educational opportunity for all.

This conclusion is perhaps even more forcefully presented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in its report of February 9, 1967, to the President.¹ Based on an independent study of school racial imbalance and compensatory education programs, the Commission concludes (in part) that,

Evaluations of programs of compensatory education conducted in schools that are isolated by race and social class suggest that these programs have not had lasting effects in improving the achievement of the students (p. 205),

and it recommends that,

We must commit ourselves as a nation to the establishment of equal educational opportunity of high quality for all children.

¹U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

As an important means of fulfilling this national goal, the Commission recommends that the President and the Congress give immediate and urgent consideration to new legislation for the purpose of removing present racial imbalances from our public schools, thus to eliminate the dire effects of racial isolation which this report describes, and at long last, providing real equality of educational opportunity by integrating presently deprived American children of all races into a totally improved public educational system (p. 209, emphasis theirs).

Thus, the latest view to win significant official sanction seems to be that desegregation is not only a moral imperative, but also that other compensatory efforts are most unlikely to succeed without it. On the other hand, the implications and consequences of the "black school" movement (noted above) for desegregation programs are, as yet, unclear, although it seems apparent that "grass-roots" control is a major objective.¹ Such controversy will, undoubtedly, continue, reflecting sociopolitical as well as educational consideration.

This necessarily oversimplified survey and analysis provides the background for the present report, which explores the first steps toward desegregation in a medium-sized, northern city. Only one other project of its kind is known to the author.² If these projects can help to illuminate further the complexities inherent in school desegregation and integration efforts with particular reference to the educational needs of the disadvantaged, complexities that have too often been minimized or overlooked, as well as contribute to the development of a "technology" of integration, the effort they represent will have been well rewarded.

¹Robert L. Crain and Morton Inger, "Urban School Integration: Strategy for Peace," Saturday Review, February 18, 1967, p. 98. The entire article is relevant to this discussion and to the project.

²Patricia M. Carrigan, "School Desegregation via Compulsory Pupil Transfer: Its Effects on Elementary School Pupils." A Basic and Applied Research Proposal Submitted to the U.S. Commission of Education, September 1, 1965. Mimeo.

Background and Objectives:

This is a report on one phase of a northern city's awakening to educational discrimination in its midst, some of its early, often painful steps toward change, and the results and prospects for the future. The potential significance of the work lies primarily in the implications it may have for future progress toward school integration and quality education for all in cities across the country. The first stirrings of visible community action began around 1960 and eventuated in the Jefferson Project, a compensatory education program funded largely by the Ford Foundation and the State Education Department and undertaken by the Centerline City School District in collaboration with the local School of Education and the Syracuse University Youth Development Center.¹ The Jefferson Project provided special services and programs in schools serving predominantly lower class Negro children in the city's ghettos, an approach that was to be altered by evolving priorities and pressures.

During the summer of 1963, the Director of the Jefferson Project (representing the Centerline City School District) suggested that the Syracuse University Youth Development Center join with the Centerline School District to conduct a research and demonstration project in the area of school desegregation. It was then anticipated that a large-scale program to eliminate de facto segregation would be undertaken by the School District in the fall of 1964, which would allow one year to seek funding and to undertake necessary planning and pre-testing. After some discussion, the Youth Development Center agreed to participate, and the writer was offered and accepted the opportunity to represent the Center on the project.

Applications for support of the project were prepared and submitted to both the National Institute of Mental Health and the U. S. Office of Education around the end of 1963. They were based on the best available predictions of the nature of the desegregation program to be implemented the following fall but recognized that subsequent School Board decisions or other factors might necessitate revisions in or even abandonment of the project.

¹While most of the data presented below are neither confidential nor in any way embarrassing to the community involved, pseudonyms are being used whenever possible in an effort to meet our commitment to those who cooperated and requested anonymity and to protect any individuals who may feel cast in a negative light. Our goal is to facilitate future effectiveness, not to identify individuals and their behavior in the past.

In March, 1964, both federal agencies agreed to fund the proposed work as a demonstration project, and the Board of Education's plans for the fall with regard to school desegregation became known. The projected changes were less ambitious than had been expected and required a fundamental reassessment of the proposal.

As originally conceived and proposed, the project was designed not only to study the impact of desegregation on those involved, but also to evaluate the impact of special services that had been planned to ease the desegregation process. The evaluation was to involve comparisons among seemingly similar, newly desegregated schools with and without the special services. The projected plan included three academic years, with the third to be used for analysis and writeup. When the Board of Education adopted its school desegregation plan, however, it was clear that the originally envisioned comparison settings would not be available. Reassignments that would markedly change racial balance were planned for four schools, none of which seemed comparable to any of the others. Therefore, it was necessary to abandon the idea of a controlled demonstration and to attempt instead to assess the impact of the special services more informally.

Revised plans and goals based on the new situation were submitted to the funding agencies following meetings with their representatives in the spring of 1964. Both agencies agreed to fund the first year of the project at least, with possible extensions to be determined after subsequent assessment of the situation by all concerned. The changes were detailed in the revised project plan as reflected in the Office of Education contract, which stated:

The revised project is designed to serve either or both of the functions depending on the development of the local situation. First, it will provide one year for a pilot project, during which both intervention and research techniques can be tried and adapted for application in a more systematic demonstration project the following year. The pilot phase was part of the original plan and was omitted because immediate, massive desegregation this fall seemed likely. Had this occurred, there would have been no time for the pilot work. Second, even if the desegregation process is not expanded in 1965, the results of the initial period are expected to be of value in themselves.

At the very least, the first year's work should provide a searching description and analysis of (1) the desegregation process in four distinctly different types of settings and (2) a variety of special services offered by the school system to the schools involved.

As finally approved, the overall objectives of the project were specified as follows:

- (a) to identify and classify the problems that may arise in connection with the integration process;
- (b) to identify systematically the effects of integration on the attitudes and behavior of the people (particularly pupils and teachers) involved, especially their attitudes and behavior vis-à-vis each other and integration per se;
- (c) to demonstrate effective ways of handling such problems through the application to this new situation of methods for the facilitation of appropriate change refined in the course of the [Jefferson] Project; and
- (d) to disseminate, for possible application in other settings, the findings concerning the problems that arise in such situations and the effectiveness of particular techniques in preventing or resolving problems and maximizing the potential of the school for stimulating learning and personal and social development.

During the first year, 1964-65, a detailed progress report and proposal for continuation support was prepared as requested by the funding agencies. Timing was again a problem, since experience had taught us that predictions made in February for the following fall would be tentative at best in this area, and the funding agencies needed the proposal before March 1. The decision made, therefore, was that the research should be confined primarily to the first year's pilot work for the present and that any plans for continuing the special services should be made contingent on subsequent developments. On the basis of this report, both NIMH and the Office of Education agreed to fund the project for a second

year to be used primarily for data analysis and writeup. Extensions without additional funds were subsequently granted when unanticipated delays occurred, but the project has now been completed. Its findings and implications are reported below, following a brief overview of its organization and the situation which provided its context.

Organization of the Project:

When the proposal was approved by both agencies in final form, a special services unit was established by the school district and a research team was assembled by the Youth Development Center. For the administrative convenience of all concerned, the special services comprising the demonstration were funded by the Office of Education, while the NIMH grant was allocated to the research part of the project, but the entire enterprise was viewed as a joint effort of the two funding agencies and the two organizations responsible for its execution. The administration and supervision of the special services were primarily the responsibility of the school district; the Youth Development Center, an independent agency, conducted the research. Close liaison was established and maintained between these two major segments of the project.

The research segment itself was divided into two major components at the beginning: formal testing and participant observation. Additional substudies were added later, most notably including a sociopolitical case history of community events and pressures that structured the course of change and an interview study of parental attitudes. Other significant modifications in the project that became necessary as it proceeded are detailed in relevant sections of the report. Direct responsibility for each part of the overall enterprise was assigned to an appropriate professional.

The case study, which provides the background for the events on which the remainder of the work is based, comprises Section One of the report. Section Two is devoted to the development and functioning of the demonstration program in the schools. Section Three reports the results of research conducted with the children and parents who were involved in the desegregation program. Each section is self-contained, reflecting the pattern of the work and, hopefully, facilitating the use of the report by readers who may be interested in particular parts of the project. The final section summarizes the overall findings, conclusions, and possible implications of the work.

The four focal or "experimental" settings included two elementary schools and two junior high schools. One of the latter, Jefferson, was a predominantly Negro, inner city school to which a

large number of white pupils were newly assigned. Virtually all the pupils involved, both "hosts" and newcomers to the school, came from lower class backgrounds, and each group represented a closely knit, ethnically homogeneous community. Despite advance indications to the contrary, overt intergroup conflict in the adult community resulting from this change did not materialize, but only about 30 of 221 pupils originally reassigned from Peterson to Jefferson actually went.¹ One hundred and fifteen others attended Bailey Junior High through the Board of Education's open enrollment program, and a few went to other public schools under the same program.² Some enrolled in parochial schools, and a small number left school or avoided the transfer in other ways. Jefferson Junior High, which had been expected to have more than a 50 per cent white enrollment after having had about 322 Negroes and 93 whites the year before, opened in the fall of 1964 with about 345 Negroes and about 80 whites. Since substantial numbers of former Peterson students went to Bailey, a predominantly white junior high school, it was decided to use Bailey as a source of comparison data. While staff resources did not permit the assignment of an observer there, the same testing program was carried out as at Jefferson.

The planned transfer of about 75 Negro pupils from Jefferson to predominantly white, middle class Dexter Junior High School was implemented but with only about 30 Negro transfers attending Dexter at the start of the year. About 58 first-, second-, and third-graders reassigned from Hayes Elementary School to Tyler Elementary, of whom over 50 were Negro, were transported to their new school by bus. Hayes is an inner-city school serving a predominantly Negro population, while Tyler serves an upper middle class neighborhood with a heavy concentration of children of University per-

¹Most of the figures in this section are approximations; the exact numbers often changed from day to day. One result of this is that N's may vary somewhat among the substudies reported below.

²This is of more than descriptive interest, since it suggests how a policy originally planned, at least in part, to facilitate integration, the "open schools" program, can also be used by citizens to impede other efforts in the same direction. An original purpose of the open schools plan was to permit concerned Negro parents to have their children transferred from a crowded, predominantly Negro, inner-city school to other schools where there was room. White parents had the same prerogative, of course, and used it to keep their children from attending Jefferson.

sonnel. Comparison data were gathered at Hayes as well as at Bailey, also without an observer.

Finally, over 100 youngsters were reassigned to Gilbert Elementary in connection with the closing of one of the city's oldest schools. While racial integration was incidental in this transfer, the new pupils included a proportionately larger number of Negroes than had been there before. The racial composition at Gilbert changed from about 456 whites and 24 Negroes (about 5 per cent Negro) in 1963-64 to about 460 whites and 100 Negroes (between 15 and 20 per cent Negro) in 1964-65, the study year. While the special integration services unit was not directly involved there, Gilbert was included in the research because it seemed to provide within a single setting the opportunity to distinguish problems due to racial and social class factors combined from those due to social class factors alone. The newcomers to Gilbert, both white and Negro, were thought to represent a lower socioeconomic class stratum than did the pupils who were there before. Gilbert is an integrated situation in another sense as well, since it serves physically handicapped children from throughout the city in its regular classrooms. This provided a potential opportunity to make other kinds of comparisons.

As this brief description makes clear, the project was necessarily carried out with limited N's, particularly at Jefferson School. Absenteeism and other factors further reduced the numbers of subjects for whom data was available, as is detailed below. Nevertheless, in view of the limited knowledge available in this field and its overall significance, we deemed it wise to do the best job that could be done under the circumstances rather than to abort the study during its first (or pilot) year. As has been explained above, it was felt that local conditions did not justify the continuation and expansion of the project the following fall. Without pretending to have solved the massive problems involved, the writer and his colleagues hope that the work reported here will help to serve as a foundation for further research and for increasingly successful efforts to provide quality, integrated education for all our citizens.

SECTION ONE--A SOCIOPOLITICAL CASE HISTORY

Part One--Setting the Stage: Protest and Accomodation

Background and Methodology:

While it was not proposed in the original plan, this aspect of the project turned out to be one of the most exciting and provocative of all, at least to those involved. Soon after work on the overall project was begun, it was realized that an important missing link was the study of the development of integration pressures and plans and the implementation process. Because of their public nature and the attention they received, the events that occurred seemed to provide a particularly well-suited vehicle for the illustration of the dynamics and processes of "democratic" community decision-making. It seemed likely that a study in depth of this change might not only lead to a clearer picture and a better understanding of social change in general, but also provide concrete help to Centerline and, in particular, to other cities where similar changes are still in their earlier stages. The focus is on the institutional dimensions of educational policy formation as well as on the behavior of the specific individuals involved. It is not only about what happened, but also about why things occurred when they did.

Such questions as the following seemed fundamental: When did the original protest come about? Who initiated it? How was it organized? How involved were various segments of the community? What was the extent of support from the Negro population? What was the response of identifiable power-holders, such as Board of Education members, school administrators, political leaders, the Mayor's Office, and the like? From whom did these individuals take advice or cues on such matters? What relevant interactions occurred among state and local officials, local officials and citizen groups, and elected and appointed officials? What changes of attitude, if any, have there been among protesters and power-holders? How did such changes come about? What avenues were established through which conflicts could be discussed or mediated? What have been the results of such efforts? What are the sources of pressure for and resistance to changes in the status quo? What strategies have been employed by the protest groups and those opposing them? Are the power-holders presently committed to the consideration of ethnic background in establishing future educational policy? What groups or individuals that might have been able to help were conspicuously silent, if any, and how might they

have been activated? What issues and problems remain?

These and related questions form the crux of this substudy. In an effort to illuminate the facts, it was necessary, first, to reconstruct the story as it developed. Although a perfect reconstruction of past events is an ideal often sought but rarely achieved, it is hoped that the material that follows presents the story fairly and accurately as it is recorded in the documents obtainable and recalled by the individuals involved.

The protest and subsequent public discussion over de facto school segregation began as a seemingly innocuous, multi-faceted protest over the changing of school district boundaries to rectify an overcrowded situation in one elementary school. The boundary changes were suggested to the Board of Education by the Research Department through the Superintendent--basically, a routine administrative decision in response to a routine administrative request. The public response, however, was far from routine, apparently because of the "transitional" nature of the neighborhood in terms of racial composition. Several concerned groups requested that the proposed change not be made lest the neighborhood rapidly lose many of its white residents as a result. In an unusual action, the Board decided against the staff recommendation. Following this successful protest, the newly organized CORE group began to demand that the Board investigate "de facto school segregation." The larger protest had emerged. During the following two and one-half years, the city was to see the school system's administration building picketed, a school boycott involving nearly 900 children, the formation of a citizens' group to study the situation and make recommendations to the Board, involvement by the State Education Department, a report from the citizens' group to the Board, a precedent-setting policy statement by the Board, the formulation of a school redistricting plan considering "racial balance," a lawsuit against the Board initiated and lost by a group of parents, and the implementation of the Board's first plan. The beginnings of a solution to the problem of de facto school segregation in Centerline seem to have emerged from this stream of events, although subsequent occurrences confirmed that continued attention to the situation would be required if the problem were to be solved.

In seeking to describe the process of educational decision-making as it occurred in Centerline with regard to the de facto segregation dispute as fully and accurately as possible, the investigators accumulated and analyzed over 1200 pages of interview protocols, nearly 200 pages of documents such as Board of Education minutes, reports, statements, letters, etc., and a file of

relevant clippings from both of the city's daily newspapers. Additional materials were gathered and used in the course of preparing the Epilogue. Thus, the case study is based primarily on what might be called a "traditional blend" in social science research--document analysis and interviewing--although limited participant observation was employed as well. Of course, had this substudy been devised and initiated earlier, much of the information needed could have been gathered more directly. The methods and materials used included, more specifically, those listed below.

1. A statistical analysis of population characteristics of the Centerline area and related demographic data, which provided baseline information on community characteristics.
2. A content analysis of material on the desegregation issue appearing in Centerline's two daily newspapers during the period of concern. This provided a rough timetable of events and clues to community participation in addition to defining the editorial stances of members of the news media.
3. An analysis of private and public documents related directly to the situation being studied. These documents include communications, memoranda, and correspondence of the Centerline school administration; minutes of meetings and public hearings conducted by the Board of Education; minutes and reports of the Education Committee, Centerline Area Council, State Commission for Human Rights; records provided by the protest groups; and a variety of other materials dealing with the processes of school integration and policy definition.
4. Interviews with citizens who took part in or who were eyewitnesses to events in the integration process.
5. Participant observation by members of the study team of selected events occurring after the beginning of 1964.

6. Extensive study of relevant events occurring elsewhere in the country so that their impact on the local situation could be assessed and so that local events could be viewed in national context.

Since the interviews provided the basis for much of the material reported in this study, it seems important to give specific attention to how they were approached and conducted. Locating proper interview subjects was, of course, a primary task. A preliminary list of participants in the de facto school segregation dispute in Centerline was prepared on the basis of newspaper stories and other formal and informal sources. Requests for names were made of selected individuals in the community who were identified as potentially cooperative leaders in educational endeavors, civil rights groups, parent organizations, and political activities. The names obtained were supplemented during the interviews, since interviewed subjects were asked what other individuals they felt should be interviewed so that a more complete picture might be obtained. By August of 1964, thirty-seven individuals deemed "influentials" in the school integration dispute had been selected. All but three were still available in the community.

Before field work was begun, the names of potential interview subjects were grouped into the following categories: (a) representatives of civil rights and protest groups, including CORE, the NAACP, and the Civil Rights Committee of a local union that had played a major role; (b) school administrators and teachers; (c) members of the Board of Education; (d) advisors and consultants, primarily individuals who took part in the deliberations of the committee of interested citizens chosen to advise the Board of Education in the area of racial imbalance in the Centerline schools; and (e) others, including parents affected by Board actions on racial balance, local political party and governmental officials, representatives of interest groups peripheral to the school integration issue, etc.

Insofar as possible, all individuals in one category were interviewed before a start was made on the next. Such a procedure, it was felt, would point up similarities and differences in opinions among the persons in a particular grouping. For example, the first interviews were conducted with the "protesters." This revealed the arguments, opinions, and perceptions of events of the group attempting to change the status quo. Next, basically the same information was sought from the standpoint of those who would have to implement any policy changes, school system personnel. The "advisors," who provided a somewhat detached but still "inside"

view of the development of the de facto segregation controversy, followed. The last major group to be interviewed was composed of school board members, who provided insights into the decision-making process from the point of view of those who had to make the decisions. Others were interviewed when it seemed that they might have something significant to contribute and, of course, there were some instances in which it was necessary to deviate from the sequence just discussed.

Gaining access to individuals did not turn out to be a major problem, though a considerable amount of time was spent in explaining the purpose of the study to desired respondents and in arranging appointments for interviews. The procedure followed was: (1) to send a personal letter to each prospective interview subject describing the study, asking for assistance, and promising that all information and/or material supplied would be treated as confidential; (2) to telephone the subject to schedule an interview appointment; and (3) to follow the interview with a letter of appreciation and a copy of the transcribed interview to be checked and returned with any corrections or requested revisions indicated.

Interviews ranged from one to two hours in length, were relatively unstructured, and varied in emphasis from group to group. Before contact was made with individuals in a given category, an interview format was developed that reflected informal hypotheses about the relevance of the particular group of individuals involved, and specific probe questions were employed to elicit information on these points if it was not volunteered. The large majority of the interviews were taped, with the remainder reconstructed promptly from the interviewer's extensive notes. Only one person expressed doubts as to whether he had been accurately quoted on the basis of the transcription sent to him, and his suggested changes were of a minor nature. In several instances, however, individuals did show concern over the amount and nature of information they had given during the interview. They sought--and received--further assurances of confidentiality.

None of the prospective subjects refused to be interviewed, which was perhaps somewhat surprising in view of their usually sensitive positions and the controversial and emotional nature of the study topic. Most respondents were extremely cooperative, and many seemed to welcome the opportunity to discuss the community situation at length with an unknown, outside observer. A few were reserved, cautious, or evasive, though always polite.

The case study, Part One of the total report, was authored by

Robert LaPorte, Jr., who did most of the field work and wrote the first draft, and Jerome Beker and Charles V. Willie, who served largely as consultants. The study as presented reflects the thinking of all three authors, and all regret any errors of fact or interpretation. Part Two, Analysis and Conclusions, was written by Jerome Beker based in large measure on suggestions from the other two authors. It was originally anticipated that the case study would be submitted to selected participants in the events described to get their reactions and suggestions in advance, but time did not permit this extra step to be taken before this final report was submitted.

The authors and all others concerned with this problem are indebted to scores of Centerline citizens who, regrettably, cannot be identified, for their anonymity is in our trust. We also owe much to earlier researchers, whose investigations of many aspects of life in Centerline provided valuable material on which to build the present study. While the commitment to confidentiality again prevents specific mention, we do wish to acknowledge the service rendered by these social scientist colleagues.

Chapter One--The City and Its Schools

I. The City:

Urban centers have experienced a common pattern of growth since the end of World War I. City populations increased steadily from about 1918 until around 1950. Following World War II and throughout the 1950's and 1960's, the areas surrounding cities witnessed a population expansion that is still gathering impetus.

The phenomenon of rural-urban migration largely responsible for urban growth has characterized several generations of American history. Each World War has added the impetus of labor shortages in our manufacturing and shipping centers, our cities, accelerating the migration. Social factors have played a part, as has the burgeoning economy. These forces have inevitably drawn the relatively less well-educated, less skilled rural dwellers to the city, seeking greater opportunity and reward. In the mind and heart of the southern Negro, this presumably meant the freedom to learn, to achieve, to enjoy.

The Urban Community Culture and the Negro:

The migration of Negroes to the central cities of the North during the Twentieth Century can be seen in the Census figures for the period. In the first decade, 1900 to 1910, our urban communities experienced a 34.6 per cent increase in Negro population.¹ In the latest decade, 1950 to 1960, starting from a much larger base, the increase was 57.3 per cent. That it has continued to accelerate in the Sixties is revealed in school population studies in urban centers.

The problems accompanying such large increases in Negro population have been examined in other, more comprehensive studies. We wish primarily to note the parallel growth of the city and its Negro population. Many new city dwellers found that their moves had significant social by-products: new patterns of group and individual behavior; separation of families resulting in their fragmentation

¹Data presented in this chapter are based primarily on the 1960 U. S. Census and studies that have coordinated and extended its reports. Specific mention of the latter sources is omitted in the interest of confidentiality.

and the abandonment, in some cases, of traditional ties with a given community; and an increase in opportunities for upward social mobility due to the services available to urban dwellers.

Studies have shown that the first generation of urban dwellers had many adjustments to make. Some were successful in making these adjustments, while others could not change or adapt.¹ Living closely together in a community of "strangers" elicits both desirable and undesirable behavioral characteristics in the modern urban dweller. For example, deviation from the dominant, middle class culture with its fixed norms often invites ostracism. The Negro, in many cases, is regarded as such a "deviant" and, in many communities, has been considered an "undesirable" neighbor. This has led to employment discrimination (preventing upward mobility), de facto segregated housing, and concomitant de facto school segregation.

For the average white urban dweller, the city affords experiences and challenges that develop his intellectual and spiritual capacities. The advantages of educational services that include the most modern facilities and best trained personnel, employment opportunities offering a variety from which to choose, modern housing with all the "conveniences," and cultural exchange through museums, libraries, and theaters are available. The average non-white urban dweller, however, is rarely in a position to take advantage of them. His world is more limited due to the restrictions placed upon him by his white fellow citizens. Often, the Negro living in the city is exposed primarily to the confines of a limited residential area and is confronted with barriers to opportunities and social mobility. To be a Negro in an urban setting is, in many cases, to be an observer but not a participant. One may be hungry, at least figuratively, but he may not dine. Associations formed to better the position of the Negro have existed for over 50 years, but progress has been slow. Inadequately

¹ Studies of immigrant groups, southern whites, etc., illustrate the fact that the first generation usually encounters bewildering situations that cannot be coped with on the basis of past experience. In some cases, where families completely disintegrate, these problems remain for generations. When families and individuals remain restricted to "ghettos," it is possible that such problems of adjustment are never solved, and the advantages and opportunities available in the urban setting may never be seized and exploited for the purpose of social advancement.

educated and unable to enjoy vocational opportunity, inadequately paid, therefore, and unable to afford better housing, inadequately housed, therefore, and so unable to have access to better education, the urban Negro often finds himself caught in a self-perpetuating cycle of frustration.

A Demographic Analysis of the Community:

Centerline is a medium-sized urban center located in the northern part of the United States; it serves as a commercial hub for about 500,000 people. It is a relatively old community, with roots going back into the late Eighteenth Century. The backbone of its economy is light industry--a mixture of electronics, chemicals, drug processing, and manufacturing--and most of its citizens are engaged in such occupations. It is a predominantly middle class, white, Christian community with a large percentage of Catholics (about 30 per cent), and it has a Jewish population large enough to support several synagogues. In terms of ethnic and racial minorities, Centerline is relatively cosmopolitan; it has substantial numbers of Italians, Irish, Negroes (about 10 per cent), and smaller populations of Poles, Russians, and Germans.

The emergence of these minorities in the community leadership is revealed by examining the ethnic backgrounds of the holders of political office in Centerline. The incumbent mayor is of Irish descent, the city council has members from the Italian, Irish, Polish, and Jewish groups, and the Board of Education reflects the same representation as the Council. Only the Negro is missing, unrepresented.

In politics and government, most of Centerline's inhabitants tend toward conservatism. City government is of the "strong mayor" type with a City Council (elected by wards and at-large) which functions as a legislative body. Political organization is controlled at the county level with all city-wide nominations initially approved by the county chairman of each party and officially ratified at county conventions. One party domination in the election of officials has been evident since the Civil War, but 1964 witnessed the election of a few candidates from the minority party.

It is significant to note that the unemployment rate for males in Centerline is higher for the Negro (11 per cent) than for the total population (5 per cent). The median number of school years completed by those over 25 years of age in 1960 for whites and nonwhites combined exceeds 11 years, while the nonwhite median is less than nine. The factor of age is also of interest. For the native-born, white male, the median age is about 28 years; for

the female, it is almost 32 years. The Negro male median age is under 23, while the female has a median age of under 22. Thus, the Negro population is, on the whole, younger than the white population.

The Census data also reveal that the white community predominates in the "high status" occupations, with professionals, managers and officials, and craftsmen accounting for nearly 50 per cent. Three quarters of the Negroes, on the other hand, were employed as operatives, service workers, or laborers. The unemployment figures already cited suggest that this community does not deviate from the old cliché--the Negro is "last hired, first fired."

The nonwhite population of the community was just under 10 per cent of the total population in 1960, and its growth rate for the 1950-60 decade approached 150 per cent. This increase in Negro population should be viewed in relation to the 50.3 per cent growth rate in the number of Negroes in all U. S. Central Cities and 57.3 per cent in all U. S. Central Cities in the North. The median income of Centerline white income earners in 1959 was \$3,300.; for Negroes, it was under \$2,600., or about 78 per cent of the median white income.

The rate of growth of the Negro population has increased substantially in the last two decades. The figure is one of the highest in the country and, if the housing restrictions and the denial of upward mobility because of lack of education remain, Centerline can expect to see the development of the kind of Negro "ghetto" problems that plague so many larger communities.

That a "ghetto" already exists in Centerline is undeniable; one census tract in the heart of the city has a Negro population in excess of 70 per cent. Two adjacent tracts have Negro populations ranging between 40 and 69.99 per cent, and four tracts surrounding these three have Negro population exceeding the Negro population for the whole city in 1960, when it was nearly 10 per cent. The geographical arrangement of these areas is in the form of a "T" expanding west, east, and south along the main arteries of the city.

The Actors--Individuals and Groups Centrally Involved in the Case Study:

Those most directly involved in the de facto school segregation dispute in Centerline can be categorized as the "protesters," the school administrators, the Board of Education, and the "advisors." Other groups and individuals were involved as well, but

usually in secondary rather than central roles.¹ Brief descriptions of each of the four major groups follow.

The protesters and, in particular, their leaders, were those who called attention to the problem of de facto school segregation, and they served throughout to prod the others to take action. They were drawn primarily from three organizations: the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Civil Rights Committee of a local union. Although leadership changes occurred among the protesters, two individuals remained quite active in the process of achieving a better racial balance in the schools. Both appeared to have a high level of political consciousness that permitted them to recognize where power in educational affairs in the community was located and to press the "power holders" strategically until change was effected.

The school administrators included primarily the Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendents and Central Office Department Heads, and Building Principals and Vice Principals. Unlike the protesters, they varied in outlook from complete hostility to complete commitment to the cause of school integration. Since these individuals were a part of the school system, however, they were often subject to external constraints that may, in some cases at least, have influenced their behavior and public postures. Most of them appeared to see events in the community in regard to education largely in terms of personal survival. The apparent difference in behavior between the Superintendent and most of the other school administrators might well be linked to the fact that, unlike the others, the Superintendent in Centerline is usually chosen from outside the school system and has additional professional loyalties and commitment to a broader professional reference group.²

The role of the school administrators in the situation studied

¹Such groups and individuals included parents and students, political leaders other than Board of Education members, and others who could not be classified properly in the above categories.

²For a detailed discussion of the influence of reference groups and "cosmopolitan" versus "local" world views on behavior, see Alvin Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (New York: Free Press, 1954). Gouldner discusses the perspectives and behavior of individuals recruited from outside an organization in comparison with those of individuals promoted from within.

was two-fold: to provide advice to the Board of Education and to implement Board decisions. Thus, school administrators exercised influence on both policy planning and administration, frequently based on their often direct contact with grass roots sentiment. Typically bureaucratic, most of them were usually cautious and conservative and tended to "react" rather than to "act."

The Board of Education is comprised of seven Commissioners elected on a partisan basis with staggered terms of office. The only formal qualifications are to be able "to read and write" and to "be a qualified voter of the District." The Board has the final authority in the determination and direction of Centerline school policy and administration. It may delegate responsibility for implementing policy in the operation of the schools, but it must deal directly with issues of basic policy such as were represented by the de facto segregation dispute.

Finally, the advisors included were primarily the members of the Education Committee, Centerline Area Council, State Commission for Human Rights. The Education Committee served the Board and the protesting groups as a confidential forum where the dispute could be aired and was asked to submit recommendations based on its findings. Representatives of the protesting groups, the school administration, and the Board of Education were included along with Committee members from civic organizations, the business community, and social welfare agencies. While the Education Committee had no official power, it both had and used the community stature needed to influence the contending groups.

II. The School System:

Centerline had over 30,000 children in its public school system in the fall of 1964.¹ The annual public school budget totals close to \$20 million, combining funds from local taxes and state assistance. Over 2,000 people were employed by the school system in 1963, of whom 71 per cent were full or part time faculty members.² The central administrative staff totaled 108, of whom four held the rank of Assistant Superintendent or above, three were Bureau Directors, and 18 were Supervisors. The remaining 83 were employed as staff assistants or clerical workers. A total of 58 individuals served as Principals or Vice Principals in the system's 46 school units. The coordination and direction of the work of over 2,000 individuals serving over 30,000 children is principally the task of the Superintendent and his immediate staff.

The Board and Its Role:

Constitutionally, the responsibility for public education in America belongs to the states. Traditionally, it has been delegated to local communities which function with substantial autonomy under ground rules established by the state and with varying, often minimal, financial assistance from it. Essentially, however, the local Board of Education, particularly in a community as large as Centerline, functions with virtually full authority and responsibility for policy-making and administration of the public education program. This responsibility includes the supervision of an extensive and complex educational bureaucracy, liaison between the local school district and state education and other officials, and liaison with the city. The Board also serves as a "buffer" or interpreter between the school system and the community and as "broker" or "interest harmonizer" in the resolution of competing and conflicting interests in public education.

¹The total number of school-age youngsters approximates 48,000, of whom about a third attend parochial and other nonpublic schools.

²Faculty is defined as those staff members who come in direct contact with students on a teacher-student basis. This excludes part-time doctors, nurses, and full-time attendance officers, principals, and other administrative staff.

The Process of Selection and Election:

In Centerline, the seven "Commissioners" who comprise the Board of Education are nominated by the respective political parties and elected by the citizens of the School District. Candidates' petitions are signed, after which formal nominations are made at the county conventions of the respective political parties preceding the elections. All of the present members of the Board have had some prior experience in public affairs in the Centerline community, and almost all have been active in partisan politics.¹ The post of Commissioner of Education (School Board member) is, nevertheless, generally regarded as a "dead-end" office, less political than service-oriented. There is no salary, and its psychic rewards are sometimes contaminated by community criticism, malevolence, and spite. As one member put it, it has "more headaches than rewards."

Both major parties attempt to "balance" their Board nominations by offering candidates of various ethnic and religious groups. At present, however, no Negro sits on the School Board. The majority is comprised of Protestants, business and professionally oriented. Lack of knowledge in public education is no handicap to nomination. The administrative staff routinely briefs the winning candidates on school problems, and they are invited to observe the Board at its meetings prior to their installation.

Present and past Boards have been composed primarily of professionals, business men, and civic-minded housewives. Politically, the present Board members, like those of earlier vintage, are predominantly of one party; only one member of the other major party sits on the Board. However, the Board operates largely on a non-partisan basis and appears immune to party political pressure. Party leaders have apparently not tried as such to influence School Board members. In fact, disputes between the School Board and the Mayor, for example, are not infrequent, although most of those involved share the same party label. Disagreements between "liberal" and "conservative" wings of the Board itself have also occurred quite often.

The Composition and Functioning of the Board of Education:

At the conservative end of the spectrum is one member who,

¹References to the "present" refer to late 1964 and to 1965, when this material was prepared.

though maintaining good relations with local County Republican Party leaders, has divorced himself from the State Republican Party leadership, denouncing it as too "liberal." Another member is close to him but is identified more strongly with the local Republican Party. Two others usually share the views of these two individuals but do demonstrate independence from them on certain issues. To the left of these four (yet apparently not considered a clear educational "liberal") is still another member. She is relatively independent of both "wings" and frequently demonstrates this by shifting her vote. The sixth member takes a liberal stand on most issues, although he bears the same party label as the other five. Finally, the only Democrat on the Board also seems to be its only consistent "liberal."

This brief and, to some degree, arbitrary division of the political behavior and thought of the present Board into "conservative" and "liberal" wings suggests that the Board normally leans toward conservatism. Essentially, the Board disapproves of state "interference" in local educational affairs. It is strongly attached to certain "traditions" of education: local control and complete autonomy, opposition to intrusion into educational matters by the city administration or by "vested" interests such as CORE and the NAACP, and organization based on the neighborhood school concept. It relies heavily upon its professional staff.

This is not to say that Board members reject any efforts to move progressively in the area of education. On the contrary, the members are dedicated to providing the "best of all possible [educational] worlds" to the community which they serve. However, they do not usually feel that the community is well-served by "outside elements" such as the state or federal governments. Change comes slowly in the field of education, partly because of this conservative view.

Many, if not most, issues and proposed changes in policy and administration flow through or from the office of the Superintendent of Schools. The Superintendent prepares the agenda for Board meetings and makes most of the recommendations for Board action. The Board considers these recommendations, determines whether or not public hearings are needed, often tables the measures and notifies the public of anticipated action, and then decides. Most of the issues are important, but they are usually routine: teachers' salaries; approval of budgets for submission to the city; approval of individual school district boundary changes; initiation of new educational programs; etc. Unless, as was the case with racial imbalance, an issue produces a strong public reaction, the Board takes action on most measures presented before it within a

month. Any political "give-and-take" usually occurs in closed "Study Sessions," away from the public limelight. Such a procedure seems effective in the process of reaching decisions that can be accepted by seven individual personalities.

Relations with the State:

As an agency officially sanctioned by the state but elected by the local community and serving the public educational needs of that community, the local Board of Education generally enjoys a unique degree of sheltered autonomy and independence. This is true, however, within a framework of standards and criteria established by the State Department of Education and a degree of implicit or explicit control fostered by financial aid and other sanctions.¹

Perhaps most significant are the certification and coordination functions of the state in the areas of curriculum, teacher qualifications, standards, etc., often established by formal legislation and channeled to the local school districts through the State Department of Education. These regulations are supplemented by the provisions of various Federal grants-in-aid to local school districts, such as for the school lunch program. Normally related to such concerns as discrimination, audit, and reporting, the regulations and the funds involved are usually routed through the state education departments in recognition of their formal position as the agents responsible for public education.

Local boards of education, as has been indicated, generally operate with substantial independence in setting policy and implementing it, utilizing state laws and State Education Department regulations as its sanctions and guidelines and turning to the Department for support or advice as it sees the need. Other state agencies, in this case the Human Rights Commission, sometimes become involved as well. Centerline's Board of Education functioned in this context.

Relations with the City

Relationships between cities and local school boards vary according to locality and state law. In Centerline, the Board of Education is financially dependent upon the city, and the education budget is part of the city budget. Although preparation of the

¹Of the total budget of nearly \$20 million, the state contributed something over \$7500,000 annually to the Centerline School District, about 40 per cent of the total.

school budget is a Board of Education responsibility, its approval is the prerogative of the city's Board of Estimate, comprised of the Mayor, the City Council President, and the Mayor's Financial Advisor. The educational appropriation to the school system is made as a lump sum, and internal budget administration is handled by the school system itself. The school administration submits financial reports to the Board of Estimate at the end of its fiscal year.

Another link to the city government is revealed in the manner of acquisition and disposal of school property, all of which in Centerline is owned by the city. Hence, when a new school site is selected, it is a joint venture involving not only the School Board and staff but the Office of the Mayor as well. When a school facility is abandoned by the school system, the property reverts to the city for disposal.

The schools are tied to local government at the county level as well. Essentially, this is a "political" tie, since candidates of both parties for Board positions are nominated by the county party organizations. Other local government officials are subject to the same process. Hence, Board of Education members share ties to the county party organizations with the Mayor and members of the City Council. Sometimes, it may be only the candidate's own preference for the City Council or the School Board that determines the office for which he will run.

Despite these formal limitations, the authority of the Centerline Board of Education has not been notably diminished by the city government. The Board is committed to fruitful cooperation with the city in budgetary areas and the city, in turn, usually relies on the expertise and experience of the Board in matters of school finance. Although the city may cut the budget of the School Board, legitimate requests are not often denied.

Board-Staff Relationships:

Although the Board of Education is responsible for the entire operation of the City School District, a great deal of its authority is delegated to the Superintendent of Schools and his immediate staff: Assistant Superintendents, Bureau Directors, and Supervisors. It would be impossible for a body of seven laymen, usually engaged in their own full-time occupations, to administer a staff of over 2,000 in such a large and complex operation. The mature and knowledgeable School Board recognizes the need for delegation and, therefore, that a condition of mutual respect and confidence between itself and the Superintendent is essential to the success-

ful implementation of policy and effective public education. Such rapport is nurtured in an atmosphere of shared goals and commitment, clear role concepts, and utilized opportunities to contribute to cooperative planning.

Since much of the operation of an established school district usually rests on long-established policy traditions, the Board of Education is called upon to exercise its ultimate responsibility to establish policy relatively rarely. It is usually concerned, rather, with implementation, reports, and relatively limited interpretations and applications of policy. In these, it is both expedient and intelligent to be guided by professional experts. Thus, the Board depends upon its professional staff. Of course, it may be called upon by the public to explain, to defend, and perhaps to change a position. It may, as a consequence, find itself serving as a buffer or "broker" between the community and the school staff. The Superintendent of Schools performs a similar role between the Board and the rest of the staff. Most communications to and from the Board are channeled through the Office of the Superintendent, although informal communication among individual Board and staff members occurs as well.

In general, the staff functions professionally and with Board support in its implementation of official policy. It is primarily in matters of a most serious nature--such as with the charges of de facto school segregation and the pressures toward action to promote desegregation--that the Board exercises the initiative and formulates specific policy lines to be employed by the professional staff. At other times, the Board goes along with the professional staff, acting as an official "watchdog" in the public interest.

The School Administration:

Like all complex organizations involving many individuals in related, interlocking roles, the Centerline school system is subject to a variety of strains related to communication, participant involvement, rewards, authority, individual needs, goals and desires, and the like that are not reflected in the formal table of organization. How these are handled, how reconciled, how directed, creates an atmosphere or milieu that pervades the organization. The administrative "style" and formal procedures and lines of authority are, however, important components of the overall climate.

At least seven individuals report directly to Centerline's

Superintendent of Schools, and he works largely through them. Included are Assistant Superintendents responsible for business affairs, curriculum and elementary education, and personnel and secondary education, as well as Directors of Research, Health Services, Pupil Personnel Services, and the Jefferson Project. In planning for the Board's first redistricting procedure that used "racial balance" as an explicit criterion, the Superintendent worked most closely with the Directors of Research and of the Jefferson Project, the Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum and Elementary Education, and the Assistant Superintendent for Business Affairs. The utilization of personnel and existing organizational units depends to a great degree upon the individual superintendent, however, as well as on the issue involved.

Communication between field administrators (primarily building principals) and the central administration is normally routed through staff channels provided by the various departments and bureaus located at the school district's administrative headquarters. Regular reports and/or requests are submitted by Principals to such units as Research (e.g., requests for testing or information on testing, requests to relieve overcrowding, etc.), to various Curriculum Supervisors, the Attendance Office, the Assistant Superintendent for Personnel (e.g., requests for new teachers), and the like. Field administrators were not included to a significant extent in the planning process that resulted in the Board's first desegregation plan, but the central office does attempt to meet needs that arise at the individual schools.

As general policy directions are formulated by the Board in consultation with the Superintendent (and, in some cases, the public, through the medium of the public hearing), the Superintendent contacts the department or bureau affected and works out the administrative details with the staff members involved. The third step is to inform related departments or bureaus of policy changes and, finally, the principals of the individual schools are notified. The Superintendent reports back to the Board of Education on the implementation and any results of the policy change or innovation. If it seems indicated, the public is then informed through the press.

The Community and Its Schools:

There is no formal assignment of the public relations responsibility within the Centerline School System. Routinely, the Board and staff have relied on releases to the mass media--the press, radio, and television--for interpretation to and communication with the public. Occasionally, a briefing session is held

with the press. More often, the press is invited to attend School Board meetings (excepting, of course, the occasional "closed sessions"), especially when problems of wide public interest are to be discussed. At Board of Education meetings and "open hearings," citizens who ask to be heard are usually given the opportunity. Letters to the Board and calls to individual members or the Superintendent are other channels of communication often used by private citizens and representatives of organized groups.

Some routine avenues of communication are required by state law. The Board of Education is required to publish a financial statement "once in each year . . . in at least one newspaper published in the District," and the method is specified in detail. It is required to present a Budget at the Annual Meeting and to make copies of it available to taxpayers on request. The Annual Meeting must be a public meeting, and notice of it must be published in two newspapers at least 25 days in advance. Regular meetings of the Board must be open to the public, and the public must be allowed access to Board of Education meeting minutes and to other school district records except for privileged documents such as pupil report cards and the like.

How Board members see themselves and their roles is reflected in the way they function and affects communication and interpretation in the Board's public relations efforts. In Centerline, this ranges from willingness merely to provide information and consult public opinion to a dynamic and active role in educating the community in matters of public education and so helping to form public opinion. These patterns of behavior appear to reflect the differing philosophies of Board of Education members. In connection with the desegregation decision and its ramifications, however, most of the task of public interpretation and communication fell to the Superintendent. It was he who attended meetings, answered queries, listened to complaints. His lieutenants and the Board of Education stood behind him and often joined him at meetings involving parents and others but, in the last analysis, he carried most of the burden personally.

Perhaps the most crucial function of the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools, working together, combines the functions of policy-making and public relations in the search for consensus--the harmonization of often conflicting interests. The current study of de facto school segregation in Centerline and the process of recognition, acceptance, and treatment, involving diverse elements and points of view, provides an illustration of movement toward consensus or interest harmonization, a vital ingredient in the formula for successful public education in a de-

mocracy.

The Negro and the School System:

It has been noted that Negroes made up about 10 per cent of Centerline's population at the time of the 1960 Census and tended to be younger than the whites. In 1964, when the percentage of Negroes is estimated to have increased, Negroes enrolled in Centerline's high schools nevertheless totaled only 6.1 per cent of the students. Only about 17 per cent of these, 49 Negroes, graduated, presumably prepared to take jobs requiring a high school education or to go on to higher learning.

At the same time, the shrinking need for unskilled workers has served to emphasize the personal and social cost represented by the school dropout, and we seem to have become increasingly aware of the gaps in early childhood experience that "short-circuit" children's capacities to see themselves as worthy and as potentially successful adults. Thus, ambition and motivation are destroyed or never developed, as seems to be the case with many Negro youngsters who live and go to school--if they go at all--in the ghetto. We have learned that such groups, living together and going to school together, miss the opportunity that a more diverse setting affords, through contacts with peers and neighbors striving to realize their potential, to rekindle the fires of incentive that could make learning seem important.

It was the contention of those calling attention to de facto school segregation that the school district was inadvertently contributing to this unwholesome situation through its policy of assigning pupils in accordance with the neighborhood school concept and had a responsibility to set the situation right. At least implicitly, the school district had recognized the problem and cooperated in the establishment of the Jefferson Project, a largely foundation-supported compensatory education program, in 1962. There is continuing dispute over the effectiveness of such programs in general and of the Jefferson Project in particular. When the de facto segregation issue was raised, however, the Jefferson Project was cited as an excuse for inaction on the "real" problem, de facto segregation, a new attempt to "keep the Negro in his place"--the ghetto. This contention was rejected by key Jefferson Project personnel, one of whom said,

True, integration is a part of democracy and enriches its participants. However, this should be a natural process, and there is no simple answer to such a complex problem. Children are products of their environment,

and this must be taken into account when any changes are being planned. . . . I am not opposed to psychological integration. I favor it. But I am opposed to physical integration for its own sake. . . . Rather than focusing on schools, I would rather see the problems in housing solved. . . . We must look at the effect that integration will have on the children involved. The research on this matter is inconclusive at the present time.

Other school officials took similar positions on behalf of the school district. In a meeting on the problem, an Assistant Superintendent said,

Some children are not ready to go to schools which have social and economic standards above theirs. These standards are set by the neighborhoods in which the children live and the kinds of homes they come from.

Another participant in the meeting challenged this statement:

It sounds as if the next logical step to that statement is separate but equal schools.

Educator:

I did not mean to imply this. People feel comfortable in an area with which they are familiar. Even communication varies from one school in a neighborhood to another. It would be difficult for children to adjust to a completely new situation.

Response:

If you isolate Negro youths, they would never have an opportunity to interact with the rest of society until it was too late.

In normative and philosophical terms, in a nation like the United States, such statements by school officials may seem to be out of place. When the question of de facto school segregation was presented, it was evident that many of the school staff (including Jefferson Project personnel) were opposed to taking action on it. They said that Negro children from the Jefferson Project schools were "not ready," but they could give no convincing evidence that the Jefferson Project was increasing the "readiness" of

Negro children. The case study that follows traces the roots of the conflict that resulted through the early phases of change toward desegregated education in Centerline.

Chapter Two - The Case History

I. Stirrings of Public Attention

An Overcrowded Elementary School:

On a spring day in 1962, a seemingly routine administrative request was made by the principal of Parker Elementary School. It was to stimulate community tensions, public discussion, demonstrations, and soul-searching involving citizens from almost all socioeconomic levels and political persuasions, and it would eventually lead to important decisions in the area of community human relations. The principal asked the central administration of the Centerline City School District to make arrangements to ease pupil overcrowding at his school.

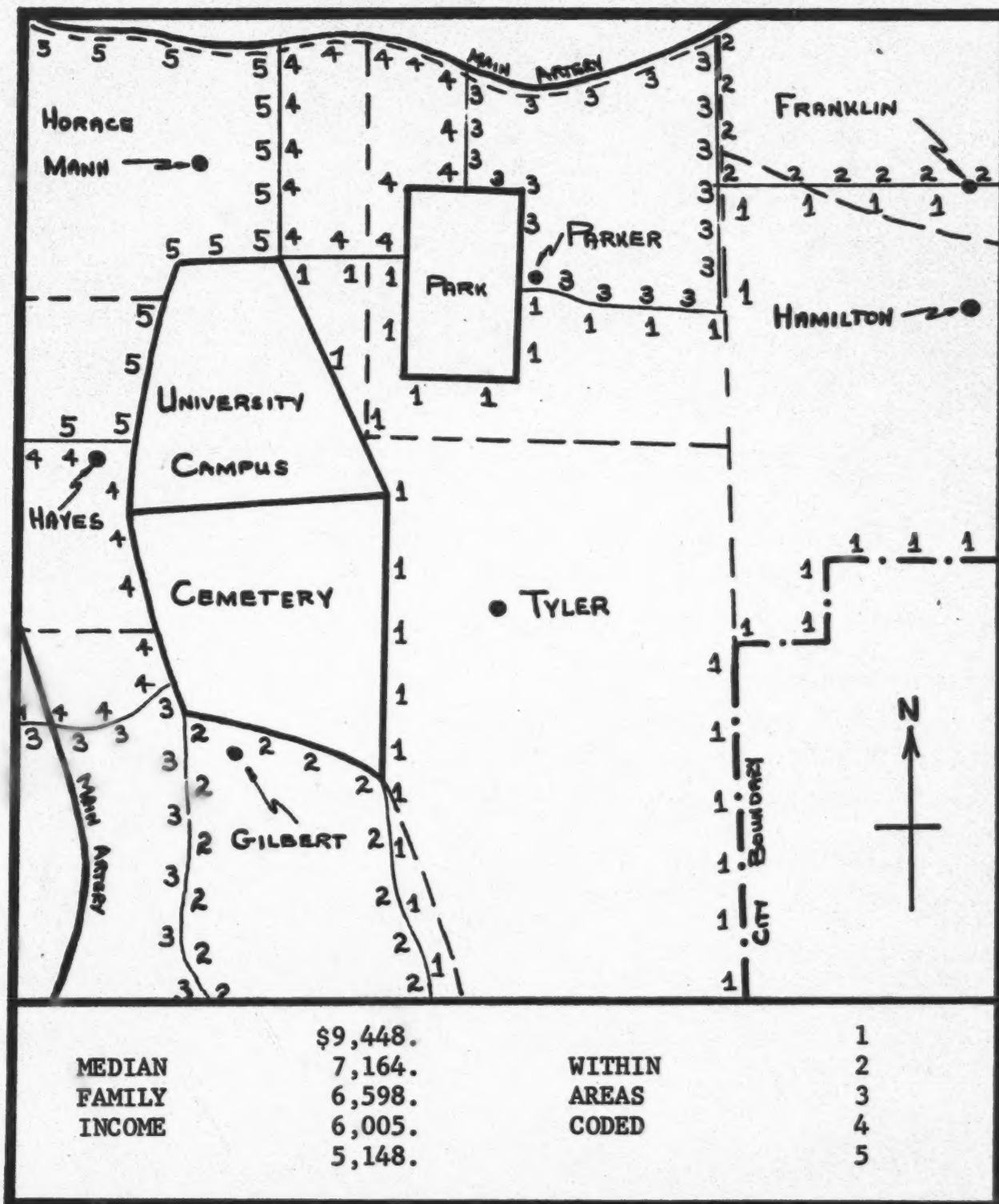
Parker was then operating with approximately 140 students more than its rated capacity, and the projected total enrollment for the fall term was considerably greater. Almost every school system, of course, suffers from a shortage of classroom space in some schools at least and must frequently revise boundary lines to serve fluctuating pupil populations. It is routine in Centerline for school principals to report expected overcrowding to the Research Department for action. What made this request quite unroutine was Parker's position in the Centerline community, a position that was to make it a focal point for charges and counter-charges concerning "racial imbalance."

Parker School is located in the eastern sector of the city. Its district includes part of a residential area east of Chancellor University generally referred to as the University Section and part of an area north of the University known as the Near East Side (See Map 1). Historically, the University Section has housed middle class families, while the Near East Side has been heavily populated with families of lower economic status. Children from both residential areas and socioeconomic levels met and associated at Parker School.

During the preceding ten years, however, a noticeable population shift had been occurring in both sections. Near East Side residents had been migrating further away from the core of the city, while residents of the University Section were migrating further south and east toward the city's periphery. Families from the lower socioeconomic neighborhood were gradually replacing middle class families as the ghetto-like section of the Near East Side became overcrowded and as many area residents

Map 1

Socioeconomic Areas and Elementary School District Boundaries, 1961-62



became upwardly mobile. Some of the families moving into the Parker district were Negro. A few Negro families had lived in the Parker district over the years, and the neighborhood had not experienced any racial disturbances.

Parker is a relatively old school site. While the present structure was erected in the 1950's, the site had previously been occupied by a school building constructed in 1898. At that time and until the early 1950's, the school served primarily children from middle and upper middle class families. In 1962, the school population was about 30 per cent nonwhite; the school was not racially imbalanced according to criteria established by the State Education Department in 1963. The staff was proud of Parker's record of racial harmony. Its district was, in a sense, a "buffer zone" between elementary school districts that were almost all nonwhite and districts that were almost all white.

The request to alleviate potential overcrowding at Parker was received routinely by the City School District Research Department. After analyzing alternative possibilities, the Research Department submitted a proposal to the Superintendent, which he transmitted to the Board of Education for consideration at a meeting held early in May.¹ This was normal procedure in regard to requests from school principals involving pupil population and the utilization of available facilities.

The Research Department's Proposal:

The Research Department of the Centerline School District gathers demographic data as well as the results of tests administered to public school pupils. Although demographic data is often incomplete and out of date virtually at the time it is gathered because of the migration patterns of urban dwellers, the Research Department uses it for calculating projected populations for each school. The Department also has other data, such as student-teacher ratios, information about facility utilization, and school populations and rated capacities. Such information has been used as the basis for adjusting school boundaries in accordance with the concept that the elementary

¹Actually, the proposal consisted of proposed boundary changes for several school districts. To avoid confusion, we refer to the entire set of proposed boundary changes as the proposal.

school should be a "neighborhood school."

In some cities, to avoid or minimize public protest which often arises with boundary revisions, boards of education prefer to enlarge the capacity of overcrowded schools by constructing annexes and/or using temporary structures. The Centerline School District usually utilizes the process of boundary revision to avoid added construction costs. Thus, a combination of need (demand made on existing school facilities by population) and the neighborhood school concept comprised the dominant considerations in the establishment of school boundaries. Other possible criteria, such as age of facilities, "hazard zone" factors (e.g., heavy traffic and no sidewalks), and "racial composition" of school populations received less, if any, consideration in boundary decisions.

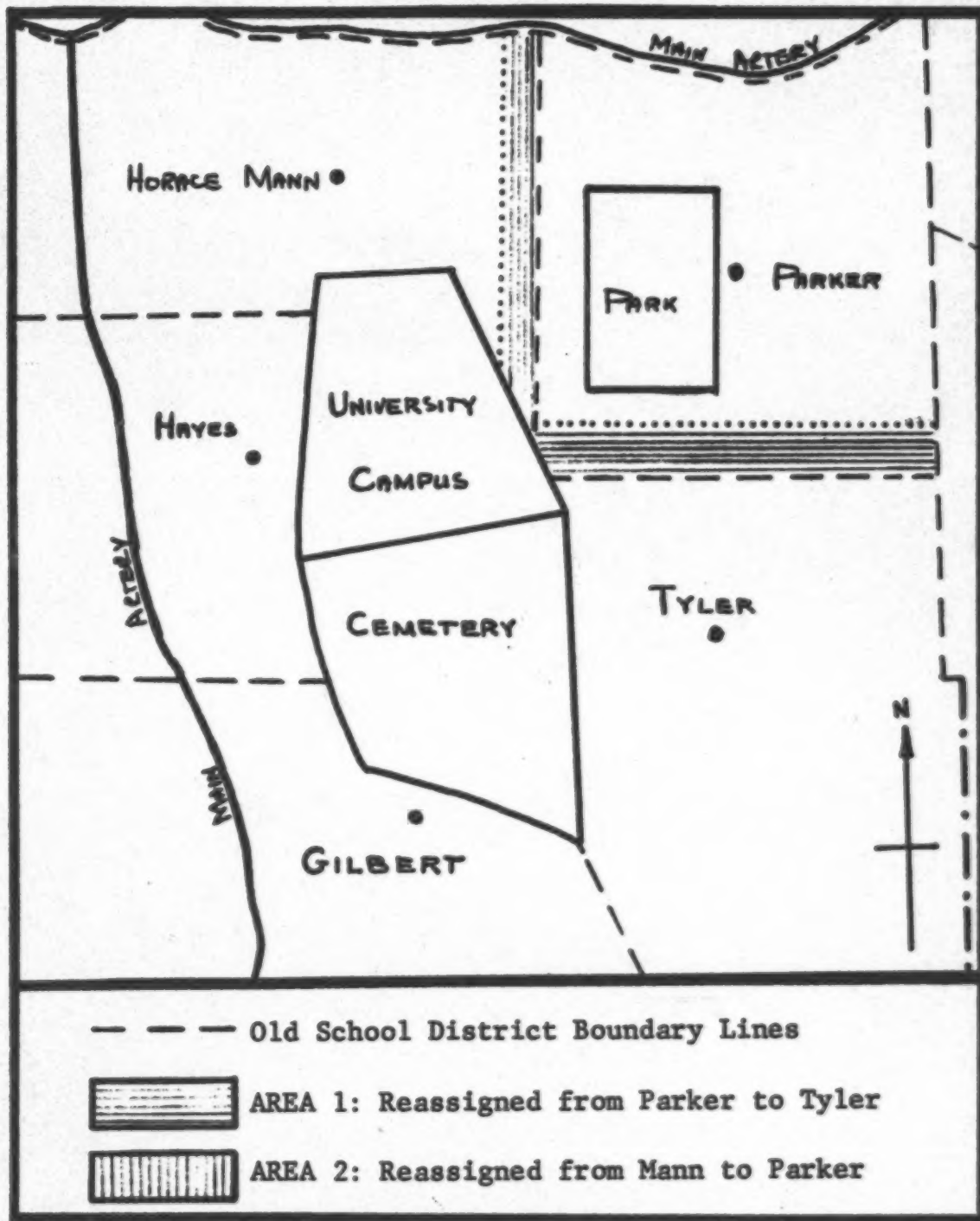
In revising boundaries to serve changing pupil populations, the Research Department surveys the situation throughout the city with special reference to the school affected and the schools in its immediate neighborhood. The Department counts out in all directions from a given school until the desired number of pupils, which may vary in either direction from the rated capacity, is reached.¹ On this basis, boundary lines are redrawn to alleviate overcrowding in the school in question, while giving due attention to the adjacent schools. The proposal is then forwarded to the Superintendent, who reviews the situation and either presents the proposals to the Board of Education or refers them back to the Research Department with suggestions. Ultimately, a plan is presented to the Board for action. Until the Parker incident, the Board had usually gone along with the advice of the Superintendent.

The proposal formulated by the Research Department and approved by the Superintendent to relieve overcrowding at Parker involved shifting the boundary lines of seven inner city and adjacent elementary school districts (See Map 2). Boundary shifting is a complex process, since each change affects others in a kind of chain reaction. Briefly stated, the proposal would have moved Parker's southern boundary northward, with the affected children going to the John Tyler Elementary School. The eastern

¹This utilizes the neighborhood school concept--hopefully, permitting each child to attend the school nearest his home.

Map 2

Proposed Boundary Changes Directly Affecting Parker Elementary
School for 1962-63



Note.--The proposed changes would have reduced overcrowding at Parker, but most of the pupils leaving would have been white and most of the newcomers would have been nonwhite.

and northern boundaries would remain basically unchanged. The western boundary was to be moved slightly westward (toward the inner city) to include some children from the Horace Mann district.

School administrators expect proposed boundary changes to be accompanied by parental outbursts, reactions that usually die down quickly. However, parents in the Parker situation did not "behave" as others had done in the past. A new ingredient had been added--the racial dimension.

Most of the children living near the southern boundary of the Parker district were white. The transfer of these children to John Tyler and the influx from Horace Mann would have increased the percentage of nonwhite pupils in the Parker school population.¹ Many residents felt that such a boundary change would speed the exodus of white residents from the area, thus changing the racial composition of the neighborhood and enlarging the city's Negro ghetto. This concern was the primary argument of the majority of the neighborhood spokesmen who contested the proposal at the Board meetings, but subsequent events made additional motivations apparent. Thus, far from being a routine solution to a routine problem of overcrowding, the proposal presented by the Superintendent provided the tinder for the first major racial controversy in Centerline, a controversy whose ramifications still trouble the city.

School Board Action: Tabling

Although changes in school district boundaries are considered policy decisions and, therefore, must be approved by the Board, such decisions have usually been routine, with the Board approving changes recommended by the Superintendent. Sometimes, however, Board members are torn between the advice of the school staff and pressure from interested groups or individual citizens.

¹The official policy of the Centerline City School District prior to 1963 was that the racial composition of a school population should not be used as a criterion in drawing school boundaries. No racial census had been taken in the system prior to the October, 1963, census, and there is no indication that the Research Department was aware of the racial implications of the proposed boundary changes submitted to the Board by the Superintendent.

Such was the case in the Parker boundary change.

After receiving the recommendations of the Superintendent, the Board voted to table the measure until its next meeting. This is a routine procedure allowing for public notification and communication to the Board. The Special Meeting at which the boundary change issue was presented occurred on May 8, 1962.¹ There was a lapse of twenty days before it was considered again at the Regular Meeting of May 28. Many of those involved in protesting the proposed change learned through the newspapers that the issue was pending. As one individual recalled it: "The first thing that happened was that it was in the newspapers, and I remember some hurried telephone calls . . ." Through such telephone calls and other means, the Parker neighborhood began to formulate and organize its protest.

Public Response

While the usual concerns were expressed by the parents whose children would have been directly affected by the proposed changes, the personal involvement factor does not fully explain why the Parker case and its public meetings were "heated," "intense," and "different" from those concerning other boundary revisions.² The added factors in the Parker case were the racial composition of the school and the broader issue of de facto school segregation in Centerline.

Unlike the South, where separation of the races in public schools was sanctioned by law until the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Topeka, there are few communities in the North

¹"Special Meeting" is the term used by the Board applicable to meetings held in addition to monthly "Regular Meetings." In addition to "Special Meetings" and "Regular Meetings," there are "Study Sessions" (normally closed to the public) at which the Board discusses its business informally. The agenda for all meetings is usually prepared by the Central Staff under the direction of the Superintendent.

²These three words occurred quite frequently in interviews with those individuals who participated in the Parker situation and had witnessed other boundary change controversies.

where this was true.¹ However, a 1961-62 survey by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials revealed that de facto segregation still existed in 200 of 380 northern communities. In New York City, 122 schools had over 90 per cent minority group enrollments; Detroit had 81 such schools; Cleveland had 47.² In Centerline, a June, 1963, report indicated that three public schools in the community could be classified as "racially imbalanced."³ Although official racial figures for the Centerline schools were not available at the time of the Parker boundary change incident, it was known that at least several schools were "racially imbalanced"; that is, their student populations were predominantly Negro or all white. It should be noted that neither the Centerline Board of Education nor its staff advocated a policy of racial separation in the city's schools. The separation that did exist was a result of residential patterns and the use of the neighborhood school concept in determining school boundary lines.⁴

Spokesmen for four organizations challenged the Parker proposal: the Parker Mothers' Club; the Central Park Neighborhood Council; the Ad Hoc Committee for Parker School; and the East Side Cooperative Council. All except the Ad Hoc Committee were organizations with well-established roots in the community. The Parker Mothers' Club was recognized by the Board of Education as the official spokesman for the parents of Parker School pupils. Both the Central Park Neighborhood Council and the East Side Cooperative Council were associations which had been formed to promote the interests of the citizens of the area. Their activities had a

¹Until 1910, the North had few Negroes and, as a result, was rarely confronted with human relation problems between white and nonwhite citizens. However, in the ensuing fifty years, many Negroes migrated to northern cities and with this influx, an increased "separation" in housing and education occurred. See Arnold Rose, De Facto School Segregation (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1964) for a discussion of the Negro migration.

²Ibid., p. 11.

³Report of the Education Committee of the Centerline Area Council, State Commission for Human Rights, June 27, 1963.

⁴Local events are, of course, influenced by events in the broader society, and it should be noted that the period of concern here also saw demonstrations against de facto school segregation in New York City, Chicago, and Cleveland, as well as Negro protests in the South.

broader scope than did those of the Mothers' Club; education was only one of their concerns. The Ad Hoc Committee was comprised of a small, tightly-knit group of individuals organized specifically to combat the proposed boundary line revisions affecting Parker School. This group was also linked to the newly emerging Center-line Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality through some of its active participants who were also members of CORE. While the extent of involvement of each of the four organizations in the struggle to maintain the boundary lines of Parker School is somewhat unclear, it appears that all but the East Side Cooperative Council contributed much time and effort.

The organizations attempted to counter the proposed boundary revisions through letters and calls to Board members, petitions signed by parents and other residents of the Parker community, and statements made at the Board meetings held during this period. At the May 28 Board meeting, the President of the Parker Mothers' Club, the spokesman of the Ad Hoc Committee, and several other individuals (including neighborhood clergymen) expressed opposition to the proposed boundary changes.¹ In essence, they argued that Parker School (as of May, 1962) was "racially well-balanced" and that the recommended boundary changes would affect this balance adversely. The spokesman for the Ad Hoc Committee included statistics to show that: (1) the school was well-balanced; (2) the non-white population of the Parker district had more than doubled and the white population had decreased markedly in the preceding decade; (3) the area that would be separated from the Parker district was relatively stable racially; and (4) the majority of the children who would enter Parker under the new proposal would probably be nonwhite, while almost all of the children transferred out would be white. The Mothers' Club, the Central Park Neighborhood Council, and others agreed substantially with the material presented by the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Superintendent and one of the Board members countered these arguments by stating that it was against state law for a Board of Education to consider race or religion in establishing school district boundaries. The Superintendent also explained the

¹If the boundary changes had been approved as suggested by the Superintendent, the Mothers' Club would have lost its newly elected President and Vice President, whose children would have been transferred to Tyler School.

procedure through which the school system determined boundaries-- by counting out in all directions from the school building until the desired number of pupils was reached. But despite these statements defending the Parker proposal, a majority of the Board felt that further study was needed before action could be taken. As a result, a motion to table the issue for an additional month was offered and unanimously passed. Although the Board had not accepted the Superintendent's recommendation, its action in tabling this issue was not extraordinary, since other boundary revision proposals had been tabled in the past to permit further study-- especially when such proposals had stimulated a large negative response from the public. The Parker proposal was scheduled for further discussion at the Regular Meeting of the Board to be held on July 18, 1962. In retrospect, it appears that this permitted a further consolidation of those opposed to the boundary change.

The four citizens' groups concerned focused their efforts on the Board of Education, with the common goal of maintaining the neighborhood as it existed. While it appears that there was no formal coordination among the four groups, some individuals involved did communicate with each other on the Parker issue. The CPNC and the Ad Hoc Committee seem to have been the two groups most concerned with the implications of this situation for de facto segregation in general. The Mothers' Club, reflecting its more restricted membership appeal, seemed to be concerned only with the direct consequences of the Parker situation. Although the common goal of maintaining the old school boundaries is quite evident, other motives can be inferred from the behavior of those involved. Clearly, some individuals were striving to prevent Parker school and its surrounding neighborhood from becoming part of the Negro ghetto. Fear was a factor--fear of Negroes, of a rapid white exodus from the area, of potentially declining property values. Others saw the Parker situation as an opportunity to force the Board to set the precedent of considering racial balance as one of the criteria for boundary revision.

At least two events worthy of specific mention here occurred before the next meeting of the Board. On June 11, representatives of the Central Park Neighborhood Council met with the Superintendent of Schools. At this meeting, the Superintendent refused to acknowledge that de facto segregation existed in Centerline, and the CPNC subsequently issued a statement calling for the Board of Education to study and solve the problem of de facto school segregation. The statement specifically requested that:

. . . the Board of Education establish a study committee to investigate alternative long term

solutions [to the problem of de facto segregation in the schools]. Such a committee might avail itself of the expert consultation which is offered by the _____ State Department's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions. We recognize that the creation of a satisfactory plan will require study and cannot be developed immediately. Until such a plan is developed, we urge that changes in districting be postponed wherever possible . . . the Central Park Neighborhood Council expresses its sympathy with the proposals which are also being made by the Parker School Mothers' Club... .

At its meeting the next day, the Centerline Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality entered the situation by endorsing the statements made by the Ad Hoc Committee and the CPNC and by drafting its own letter to the Board of Education to express its concern about de facto school segregation throughout the city. Centerline CORE was a relatively new organization, and its activity in the field of education, growing out of the Parker incident, apparently helped establish it as a major voice of protest against racial segregation and inequality in the community.

After having tabled the proposal to revise Parker's boundaries for additional study, the Board again took up the issue at its Regular Meeting on June 18, 1962. In addition to the statements and letters from the Ad Hoc Committee, CPNC, and CORE, the Board had also received communications from the East Side Cooperative Council and the Parker Mothers' Club. At the meeting, spokesmen expressed a strong desire that the present white-nonwhite pupil ratio at Parker School not be disturbed. Thus, the stage was set for the Board to make its decision. It could (1) support its staff's recommendation and disregard the sentiment of the organizations and individuals who opposed this recommendation or (2) reject the recommendation, thus breaking two precedents. The latter decision would support those individuals in the community who questioned the wisdom of the professional educators in the area of pupil assignment and would give implicit recognition to the existence of de facto segregation as claimed by CORE and others.

School Board Action--Rejection:

After the issue had been discussed in detail, a motion to change Parker's boundaries as recommended by the Research Department and the Superintendent was placed before the Board. It was defeated by a vote of five to two. Thus, the recommendation of the school staff was overruled.

One Board member said, "I'm afraid this vote will be interpreted that the Board admits segregation exists. As far as I'm concerned, this boundary issue is no different from any other we've faced-- and there's always some opposition to them." The two Board members voting in favor of the proposed changes stated that the Board was not permitted by state law to keep statistics regarding the race of students and, therefore, could not use this factor in considering boundaries even if it so desired.

Others involved in the situation expressed surprise over the outcome. The Board had apparently agreed to support the staff recommendations at its Study Session prior to the Regular Meeting. The "change of heart" at the public meeting will probably never be fully explained. It is known that the staff was surprised and concerned about the decision, as were the two Board members who supported the staff's recommendation. Board members who voted against the proposal said that they were surprised when so many of their colleagues joined them. The outcome was viewed by some as an expression of "no confidence" in the staff's recommendation, on this issue at least, and as the beginning of a possible Board-staff cleavage.¹

In any case, the decision was portentous, for it gave at least implicit recognition to racial balance at Parker and, indirectly, a stimulus to those individuals who had longer-range objectives in mind when they opposed the planned boundary changes for the Parker district. For the individuals concerned solely with preserving the neighborhood status quo, the Board's decision was, of course, an end in itself.

Broadening the Issue:

At the next Regular Meeting of the Board, held on July 16, a new and relatively noncontroversial boundary proposal for Parker was presented and routinely tabled; it was approved at the August meeting. Thus, the boundary adjustment dispute was resolved. In retrospect, however, most of the people involved felt that de facto school segregation emerged as an issue in Centerline through the Parker boundary change incident. The leader of Centerline CORE,

¹The Superintendent of Schools tendered his resignation at a Special Meeting of the Board on July 9, although there is no evidence that his resignation was connected with the Parker situation. (An Assistant Superintendent was appointed to serve as Acting Superintendent until a replacement could be found.)

who was to play an important part in later efforts to abolish racial imbalance in Centerline schools, stated that he and his followers actually began their protest while the Board was acting on the Parker proposals.

The letter to the Board of Education prepared by CORE at its meeting on June 12 was indicative of the mood of those who felt that the time was ripe to utilize the Board's action in the Parker case to force consideration of racial balance in future school boundary decisions. Their demand that the Board study de facto school segregation signaled the start of a frontal attack on the problem of "racial imbalance" in the larger setting of the entire city school system. For its part, the Board of Education seems to have considered the Parker boundary dispute as an isolated case without implications for its policy on school racial balance.

II. The Protest Expands:

The Parker situation had united groups which, superficially at least, seemed to have little in common--established, traditional, middle class oriented organizations such as the CPNC and the Mothers' Club joined with the recently created, largely student based, activist local chapter of CORE. The CPNC and the Mothers' Club expressed their appreciation to the Board of Education and withdrew from the situation after the Parker decision, but the well established, widely respected Centerline chapter of the NAACP joined with CORE, which was only weakly linked to the local Negro community, to mount a broader attack on de facto public school segregation.

In a letter of appreciation to the Board, the East Side Co-operative Council not only expressed its reassurance at the decision not to change the southern boundary of the Parker district, but also urged the Board to "appoint a special committee to make a city-wide study of the effects on school populations of the movements of city population . . . " which would be necessary to avoid possible similar future problems. The ESCC further stated that it could not "accept the view that it is not the responsibility of the Board of Education to know the racial make-up of a school and of its surrounding neighborhoods." The letter concluded: "If school boundaries are changed without regard to the racial make-up of the school and neighborhood, we believe that this could promote residential segregation in some sections."

CORE continued to press actively for reform. On June 25, two CORE representatives including its chairman, together with a member of the CPNC, met with two members of the Board of Education. The CORE members felt that a "good understanding" had been reached and proceeded to draw up a statement of their position for submission to the Board. This statement recommended that the Board:

1. Recognize that a situation of de facto segregation may exist in [Centerline].
2. Enunciate a clear position favoring racial integration as the most satisfactory means of providing an equal education for all pupils.
3. Constitute a committee to undertake a study for the purpose of making recommendations about the situation in the [Centerline] School

System. The committee should be sponsored by the Board of Education but should have active participation from other city and state agencies as well as representatives of relevant citizen groups. Professional consultants would probably be needed as well as the full cooperation and support of the Superintendent's staff.

The statement additionally endorsed the Board's action in defeating the Parker redistricting proposal and supported the Board's alternative plan.

The Superintendent visited the CORE chairman on June 27 and requested a draft of "specific steps by which CORE proposals may be carried out." CORE complied on July 13:

In response to your request during our conversation of June 27 regarding more specific recommendations for the constitution of a committee to examine the question of de facto school segregation, [Centerline] CORE submits the following suggestions. First, we reiterate the three basic recommendations contained in our earlier statement:

1. That the Board of Education recognize formally that a situation of de facto segregation may exist in [Centerline].
2. That the Board of Education enunciate a clear position recognizing and favoring racial integration of the school system as the most satisfactory way of providing equal and optimum educational opportunity for all its students.
3. That the Board of Education constitute a committee to study the school system and to recommend to the Board possible action aimed at correcting the de facto segregation which we believe exists.

We advance the following more specific recommendations for effecting our third proposal. We suggest that the Board of Education:

1. Vote to sponsor, and to pledge its maximum

support to, a committee of the aforesaid type with broad community representation.

2. Appoint a Board member to act as chairman, at least temporarily, to organize the committee.
3. Charge the committee to:
 - a. Find the most suitable professional research team to explore this problem. The New York University Center for Human Relations and Community Studies is an example of a competent research group with considerable experience in the field.
 - b. Define the extent and severity of the de facto segregation problem in the [Centerline] schools.
 - c. Recommend to the Board of Education both interim and long-term solutions to the problem of school segregation.
 - d. Seek the cooperation of other agencies and groups, especially with respect to their contributions to long-term solutions.
4. Constitute the committee by formally inviting representatives from three key segments of the community: human rights groups, governmental bodies and agencies, and parents and neighborhood organizations. Invitations should be by letter sent by the Board to such groups. We suggest an initial membership of:
 - a. Three representatives from the [Centerline] Council of the State Commission for Human Rights.
 - b. Two representatives (including the chairman) from the Board of Education.
 - c. One representative each from the Inter-faith Council, [Centerline] Committee on

Racial Equality, [Centerline] Parent-Teacher Association, Central Park Neighborhood Council, East Side Co-operative Council, County Board of Supervisors, Public Housing Authority, and Department of Urban Improvement.

5. Direct the Chairman of the committee to call a meeting of its full membership as soon as practical. Upon organizing and reviewing its responsibilities, the committee might decide upon the need for additional persons whom they could invite as they see fit.
6. Assume responsibility for raising funds to support the activities of the committee.

We appreciate the willingness of the Board and its representatives to discuss the de facto segregation question with us. We hope our proposals will facilitate consideration and constructive action by the Board in the very near future.

On July 30, the Superintendent, whose resignation was now a matter of public record, acknowledged receipt of the statement, adding:

Inasmuch as this letter was not directly related to any item on the agenda for the regular meeting of the Board of Education held on Monday, July 16, 1962, it was deferred for discussion until a later time to be determined by the Board of Education.

The CORE suggestions were aired at the regular meeting of the Board on August 20. The Board, voting 4-0 with one abstention, adopted this resolution:

Resolved: That, should the Mayor of the City of [Centerline] propose a representative committee to study the problems of community interrelations and tensions, the Board of Education expresses its willingness to be represented on such a committee and participate in its work.

CORE was dissatisfied with this resolution, which gave the impression that the Board was either trying to evade the issue by turning it over to the Mayor or wanted an outside mediator. Re-

sponding formally, CORE stated,

This resolution makes clear that the Board does not intend to initiate steps toward the solution of a problem which lies within their proper jurisdiction. The resolution neither mentions the problem explicitly nor does it record the Board as favoring racial integration. It reflects a passive attitude when vigor and leadership are needed.

Its request denied, CORE decided to "initiate direct action."

The Nature of the Impasse:

Mainly, the protesters claimed that both white and nonwhite children "suffered" from their forced separation in the schools. To them, this was clearly a violation of the fundamental principles of the nation, principles rooted in America since the time of the Founding Fathers. It was also a flagrant disregard for the right to equality under the law and the freedom to associate freely. Not only did de facto segregation outrage morality, they claimed, but it was also demonstrably illegal. They adduced as proof the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment and the Supreme Court ruling in the case of Brown vs. Topeka (1954). They contended that as the members of the Board of Education were elected to serve the entire community, the Board must use its power and its influence to provide integrated, not "separate but equal," educational facilities for all.

The Board of Education and its administrative staff, on the other hand, were reluctant to affirm the existence of a racially inequitable situation in Centerline, denying adamantly the charge of de facto segregation and refusing to discuss the matter openly with the segment of the community that CORE claimed to represent. They maintained that data on the racial composition of the schools were unavailable and that such information could not legally be gathered. Further, they indicated that if de facto segregation did exist, it was as a result of residential patterns, not an educational problem and, consequently, not the Board's responsibility to rectify. To the Board's view that "color blindness" was the only position a public agency could take in regard to the administration of its services, the protesters replied that, in this instance, "color blindness" was simply a fancy term for de facto segregation. Thus, the Board assumed full responsibility for the school system's stand in the dispute and served as a buffer between the protesters and the administrative staff. The protesters were pitting

themselves directly against the Board. Thus the Board was unable to perform its role as "broker," as it had in the Parker situation; the protest expanded to become the focus of community-wide concern.

The Picket:

On August 28, CORE began to picket the administrative office building of the school district. On the following day, the County Republican Party dinner was picketed as well. A local newspaper account of the dinner, at which Board of Education members, the Mayor, and the State Governor were present, included the following paragraph:

With a big escort the Governor was whisked downtown. . . . He found a picket line mounted by the [Centerline] Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) parading in front of the [building]. The group was protesting alleged segregation in the [Centerline] public schools. The Governor did not stop to talk to the pickets but moved quickly into the [building]. The picket line was still there when he came out. He looked at the signs and made some inaudible observations to some of the picketers apparently of a non-controversial nature. [The spokesman of the group] said the group has no quarrel with [the Governor], but merely sought "to put the situation in the spotlight."

However, CORE maintained that "the Governor endorsed the action of pickets as he entered the hall," and that "Mayor _____, on the other hand refused even to accept a leaflet." CORE's spokesman further described this picket as follows:

Governor _____ said he was sympathetic after reading pamphlets given to him when he crossed the picket line . . . but the Mayor was not concerned. . . . It seems to me that the Mayor should be concerned with any problem of this type in his own city. He should be more directly concerned than the Governor.

Supporting CORE, the Supervisor of Centerline's one largely Negro ward, a Democrat, issued a press statement on September 5: "The Mayor publicly refused to act, stating that agencies other than

the city government exist to deal with such matters."

Although leadership of the picket was eventually shared with the local chapter of the NAACP, it was CORE that initiated it and primarily carried it out. CORE's chairman was both an effective organizer and a charismatic, incendiary speaker whose most enthusiastic supporters were university students and young civil rights activists. The NAACP, the more "respectable" and established protest group, had as its champions members of the Negro community of professional, semi-professional and business people. The union Civil Rights Committee was less involved than were the other two groups, but it contributed manpower. More important was its skill, gained through experience with strikes and collective bargaining, in operating the subsequent boycott and, later, in the bargaining phase of the protest. The leader of each group had control of its members; there was no violence. The close cooperation among the three groups presented an impressive picture of solidarity.

Apparently, the responsible officials decided to ignore the picketing of school district headquarters, which had continued into September, on the assumption that it would dissipate and the situation would quiet down when the schools opened, if not before. This estimate of the determination of the protest groups and their ability to influence the Negro community proved to be a serious miscalculation.

The Boycott:

For reasons that remain unclear, the union Civil Rights Committee initiated the boycott. The Committee sponsored a rally in the schoolyard of Horace Mann Elementary School on September 9, 1962. The Horace Mann student body was over 90 per cent nonwhite; the school had a higher percentage of nonwhites than any other school in Centerline. Members of CORE and the NAACP and the Ward Supervisor were invited to attend, as were parents and other residents of the Horace Mann district. According to two independent estimates, attendance approached 300 people. The CORE spokesman accused the Board of Education of "shirking its duty" in refusing to deal with "de facto school segregation." The reason for the rally, according to him, was that the Board still refused to take any action, although the Board's offices had been picketed for over two weeks. He added:

. . . the [Centerline] Board of Education can afford to ignore the existing situation only so long as you are willing to let them. . . . When you tell them [your demands] in terms they can

understand, then you will end discrimination.

A leaflet circulated in the area the day after the rally, the opening day of school, exhorted parents to:

Protest segregated schools in[Centerline] by keeping your children away from school opening day, September 10, 1962. Instead, send your children to school on Tuesday, September 11, 1962.

Your representatives [Supervisor of the Ward, Chairman of the union Civil Rights Committee, Centerline CORE and the NAACP] in a mass rally held yesterday asked that you support their protest to the Superintendent of Schools today by not sending your children to school until Tuesday.

A group is going at 10:00 this morning to the Superintendent's Office to make our protest. Please go with this group--or, at least LET THE BOARD OF EDUCATION KNOW THAT YOU SUPPORT THIS PROTEST BY REFUSING TO SEND YOUR CHILD TO SCHOOL UNTIL TOMORROW. . . . WE MUST PROTEST UNTIL THE BOARD ASSUMES ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE INTEGRATED EDUCATION.

ACT NOW! ! !

That day, Horace Mann Elementary School became the target of picketing and a boycott sponsored jointly by the three protest groups. They estimated that 900 children, about 80 per cent of the student body, were absent. In any case, the percentage was large enough to communicate the intended message unmistakably to the school system. Later in the day, the Horace Mann Mothers' Club officers denounced the demonstration on radio and television. The Acting Superintendent of Schools contended, on television, that "misinformation was responsible for much of the lack of attendance at Horace Mann." The protest groups were denied use of the same media to air their contentions. One newspaper reported the event as follows:

Outside [Horace Mann] School, a group of sign-carrying pickets paced up and down Street. The group accused the Board of Education of causing de facto segregation at the school by making district boundary changes.

The Acting Superintendent of Schools went to the school to inspect the situation and asked the pickets to "please keep moving." He said several pickets stopped parents and urged them to join the protest by keeping children from school until tomorrow.

Members of the [Centerline] Branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were to meet with him and discuss the redistricting late this morning.

The meeting of the Acting Superintendent and the protesters, a total of 28 people, took place as arranged, although CORE representatives were not present. School officials reiterated their refusal to concede that de facto segregation existed in Centerline schools, such a label being "only inflammatory and very unconstructive." Some of the parents, one official said, attended the meeting without knowing what it was about. "We have no quarrel with you," a parent told him. "We just don't know. . . . We came because we were told to come." The meeting lasted an hour and a half. A newspaper account reported:

. . . [the Acting Superintendent] reported it seemed that an impasse had been reached, since the group is still requesting that the School Board acknowledge that de facto segregation exists in some city schools, a point which the Board has refused to concede.

The Acting Superintendent said the meeting was informative and friendly and concluded with a seemingly favorable reaction to his suggestion that the group bring in specific proposals as to things they feel are not being done by the schools for their children so that specific answers could be given.

The optimistic note which ends this newspaper account notwithstanding, on September 14, CORE, the NAACP, and the union Civil Rights Committee issued a joint statement continuing the protest. The pickets remained in front of the Centerline School District offices.

Response to Direct Action:

It is difficult to gauge public sentiment in a situation such

as this in the absence of survey data. It seems likely that relatively few among the general public could see the potential ramifications of the boycott. The press, much of the public education establishment, and the city government tended to be antagonistic to the protest, while other prominent leaders such as the clergy and many professional and business people tended to be sympathetic. The press coverage of the boycott, however, seemed objective and fair although rather limited. The daily newspapers printed stories of three and five paragraphs, respectively, both on inside pages. Television and radio coverage included statements from the Acting Superintendent and the Mothers' Club but not, as has been mentioned, from the protest groups.

The predominantly Negro Horace Mann Mothers' Club officers had been present at the rally on the day before the boycott, at which time they denounced the planned direct action. In support of the school administration's position, they called the proposed boycott "illegal" and "immoral." They felt that none of the three groups sponsoring the boycott truly represented the school's parents, and they pleaded publicly with the parents whom they were allegedly representing to cross the picket line. Later, they aided the school staff in an unsuccessful telephone campaign to urge parents to send their children to school. Overall, however, there was no extensive public reaction or evidence that most of the city felt greatly concerned one way or the other. The "Civil Rights Revolution" had emerged across the country, the so-called backlash had not yet become particularly evident, and Centerline as a whole seemed to take the present situation in its stride.

The same cannot be said of the school system itself. School officials generally had tended to dismiss the earlier picketing as an isolated or minor event, but they seem to have been astonished and confused by the boycott of Horace Mann School on opening day. Leadership during this period was, at best, feeble. Not a voice seems to have been raised publicly in defense of the school system's power; "No Comment" was the usual response. Hasty meetings were held at which school administrators seemed baffled and unable to respond to the now well-known requests or "demands" of the protesters.

The Board of Education, however, was not able to ignore a situation like this directly involving hundreds of children in one of its schools as it had ignored the picketing of its headquarters. The primary concern seemed to be to get the protest off the streets and into the conference room. After receiving the Acting Superintendent's report on his meeting with the protesters, the Board decided that the situation represented a community problem

and approached the Mayor with a request that he establish a fact-finding committee to study the situation and to present suggestions and recommendations to the Board.

The city government in general and the Mayor's Office in particular seem to have attempted to avoid any involvement in this situation from the beginning. The Mayor had earlier stated that the matter was not in his jurisdiction and that there were appropriate agencies in Centerline to handle it. He had also ignored the resolution passed by the Board on August 20 (cited above). His actions were typical of those of the city's other political leaders, who were notably silent and disinclined to offer even the most tenuous show of leadership. When approached by the Board in this instance, the Mayor again said that the situation was not in his province but did refer it to the State Commission for Human Rights. In the words of one observer, "He used his good offices to ask them to take this on."

Three days after the boycott, on September 13, the Centerline Area Council, State Commission for Human Rights, met to discuss the role it might play as a fact-finding group in resolving the conflict. On September 16, the following report appeared in the local news section of one of the Centerline newspapers:

State Plans New Study on Rights

The State Commission for Human Rights has authorized the organization of Education and Housing Committees. Commissioner _____ and Chairman _____ . . . of the Commission are involved.

The Education Committee will undertake studies particularly in the areas of pupil placement, guidance, and educational opportunities.

The task of the Housing Committee is study, analysis, and recommendation of possible action on the July 2-3 [Centerline] Human Relations Conference held at . . . under the auspices of the County Council of the Commission.

On September 22, CORE, the NAACP, and the union involved sent a joint letter to the Commission in which the three groups requested aid in mediating the problem.

Following is the text of a letter to the Acting Superintendent which CORE, the NAACP, and the union released jointly on September 24.

Please be advised of our satisfaction with the progress made . . . in mediating the de facto school segregation dispute. We are temporarily halting action against the Board until it has had an opportunity to take a position with respect to current alternatives at its next meeting.

It should be clearly understood, however, that in our view the conduct of a study of this problem is without meaning in the absence of a clear policy statement from the Board pledging itself to the integration of the schools and charging the study commission with the task of returning viable solutions.

Such a statement would indeed be warmly received in the Negro community. It would re-establish the good faith of the Board in the eyes of the people. It would clear the air of suspicions currently afield that the Board secretly favors the continued segregation of Negroes in Centerline.

Let us again emphasize that in the absence of a clear commitment from the Board, we must renew our actions against the Board until a just solution of this problem is reached.

CORE also released the following statement to the press:

The Centerline Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) today called off its month-old picketing of the Board of Education Offices to await the Board's response to the mediation efforts of the State Commission for Human Rights.

In a letter to . . . , Acting Superintendent of Schools, spokesmen of CORE and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) expressed satisfaction with the progress made by Dr. _____ in mediating the dispute over de facto segregation in the schools. Dr. _____ is chairman of the Centerline Citizens Council of the State Commission for Human Rights.

The NAACP and the Civil Rights Commission of [the union involved] have joined CORE in protesting the alleged segregation and demanding that the Board assume responsibility for the racial integration of the schools in Centerline.

CORE began its picketing on August 28 because the Board not only refused to initiate a study of the problem but also refused to acknowledge the problem as theirs. _____, President of the Board, has recommended that parents move into different neighborhoods if they want their children to attend different schools.

During the four months of negotiations prior to the beginning of direct action, CORE asked the Board to

- (1) recognize that de facto segregation may exist in Centerline,
- (2) take a clear position favoring racial integration as the best means of providing an equal education for all pupils, and
- (3) establish a committee to study the school system and recommend possible action that would achieve better racial balance in the schools.

CORE and NAACP spokesmen stated that a stepped-up program would be resumed after the Board's meeting on October 5 unless it makes a formal policy statement pledging itself to the solution of de facto segregation.

"Let us again emphasize," their letter to Acting School Superintendent _____ concludes, "that in the absence of a clear commitment from the Board we must renew our actions against the Board until a just solution of this problem is reached."

On October 4, the first meeting of the newly created Education Committee of the Centerline Area Council, State Commission

for Human Rights, convened with the Acting Superintendent and several other community leaders including representatives of the Board, the Jefferson Project, CORE, and the NAACP in attendance. After a month of "direct action" initiated by CORE, and five months after the Parker boundary revision dispute had arisen, the public meetings (which were, themselves, to go on for nine months before the first report was issued) began.

III. Negotiations:

The dates of October 4, 1962, and July 12, 1963, mark the official start and the end of a series of semi-monthly meetings at which representatives of the major groups concerned sat down and attempted to hammer out the beginnings of a solution to the crisis that had arisen in community human relations. By October, 1962, both the Board and the protest groups were anxious to begin such discussions, since both apparently realized that the problem could not be settled "in the streets." It should be recalled that the Acting Superintendent of Schools had been serving as the professional head of the school system since July. There may be a tendency to postpone major decisions under such circumstances, so this may have had some bearing on the course of the negotiations. The Board appointed a new Superintendent early in March, 1963, and he took office on July 1.

We have seen how the protestors were able to gain recognition and publicity for their demands by resorting to direct action. The proverbial "straw" that broke the Board's resistance to talks on the subject of de facto school segregation was the boycott. However, the School Board did not yield completely to the demands of the protestors. They did not, for example, "admit" the existence of de facto school segregation. They did not "create" a special committee to study the problem. What they did was to give the situation "community status" by acknowledging that it was a community problem. The protesting groups achieved the status of "equality" and became the recognized "representatives" of the segment of the community most effected by racial imbalance in the schools, the Centerline Negro population. In sum, both sides made concessions that appear to have been necessary to facilitate the initial discussions.

The Auspices for Discussion:

In June of 1962, an official of the Centerline public schools had informally approached the Regional Office of the State Commission for Human Rights about the problem. It appears that the school system was attempting to assess the Commission's position on the de facto school segregation issue. The position of the Board of Education was presented, and the Commission representative suggested a meeting between the Board and CORE representatives to discuss the issue. Apparently, this advice was received but not acted upon by the Board. In September, probably after the school boycott, the Mayor's office approached the Regional Commissioner officially about the possible involvement of the Commission's staff

and lay advisors as a "neutral" resource to facilitate negotiations. In the words of one observer, the Commission was requested "to provide the opportunity and the facility for a mediatory body to consider the problem presented by the civil rights groups. . . ." The Regional Commissioner agreed and, thus, the machinery of the State Commission was set in motion.

The State Commission for Human Rights, part of the Executive Branch of the State Government, maintains several regional offices. Each has a professional staff charged with the responsibility of enforcing state laws regarding discrimination. In fulfilling its legal obligations, the Regional Office investigates charges of discrimination in such areas as housing and employment. A major part of its mandate is educational in nature--to acquaint the citizens of the state with the law and with their legal obligations. It prefers to assist the community in preventing or alleviating "tension-producing" situations rather than to investigate complaints and initiate legal action. The Regional Office works largely through its Area Council, a group of lay community leaders, and the Council's lay committees focusing on particular areas of concern. While the Council advises the Commission about problems in civil and human rights in Centerline, it does not engage in law enforcement activities. The Council does not make policy, and its statements and those of its committees are subject to prior approval by the Commission.

According to the professional staff of the Regional Office, Centerline was the first community to enlist the aid of the Commission in a de facto public school segregation dispute. In this case, it appears that the Chairman of the Area Council played a critical role in bringing the disputants and other community representatives together for discussion. The Education Committee of the Area Council, which had been relatively inactive, was enlarged and revitalized for its new assignment.

Sources of Membership and Interests Represented:

On September 28, 1962, the Board of Education, NAACP, CORE, and the particular local labor union Civil Rights Committee which had become active in the dispute were invited to nominate representatives to participate as members of the Education Committee along with selected "citizens-at-large." Both NAACP and CORE accepted, while the Civil Rights Committee of the local union declined due to prior commitments. A number of the "citizens-at-large" also accepted, and the Board followed suit by approving the following resolution on October 15, 1962:

Resolved: That two members of the Board of Edu-

cation, as well as the acting superintendent of schools and the director of the [Jefferson] Project, be designated to serve on the Education Committee of the Area Council for the State Commission for Human Rights. This committee is an advisory subcommittee of the Area Council. Such designation would carry out the intent of the action taken by the Board of Education at its regular meeting on Monday, August 20, 1962. The Board of Education, in keeping with its policy of providing equal opportunities for the development of the potential of all children and youth attending the [Centerline] public schools, expressed its willingness to participate in a constructive study of any problems related to the fulfillment of this objective. This will include such problems as ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic imbalance, and other community factors which may influence educational opportunities.

In its Report of July, 1963, the Committee lists its membership according to three categories: members from the Board of Education and its Staff; members from the public-at-large; and members from the Centerline Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights. Although the Board of Education had only two official representatives, an additional Board member sat in on many of the meetings, giving the Board a total representation of three. The staff of the School District was represented by the Acting Superintendent, an Assistant Superintendent, the Director of the Jefferson Area Project, and the Director of Research. However, most of the meetings were attended by only two of the four school administrators. Included as "members from the public-at-large" were CORE's representative (a local college professor), a former board member of a suburban school district, and a member of the clergy from the Parker area. Members of the Council who sat on the Committee included three businessmen, one of whom served as Chairman, a Negro county employee active in community affairs, and the sole representative of the NAACP, who happened to be serving on the Council at the time. The Commission provided the Committee with a research advisor and a secretary. The first few meetings were well attended, and about fifteen of the original twenty members continued to be actively involved until and beyond the July, 1963, report date, except for changes in representation from the Board of Education following the November, 1963, elections. These changes seem to have had little effect on the direction of the Committee's work.

While there appears to have been a conscious attempt to

include a wide spectrum of experience and viewpoints among the committee membership, certain interests were conspicuously absent. For example, no political leader from either the city or the county governments served in any capacity. Absent also were representatives from the banking community, real estate interests, and the legal profession. Neither the private social welfare agencies nor such civic groups as women's clubs and professional societies were directly represented. It is not known whether the omission of these groups was by chance, or whether some may have been offered representation and declined. In any case, the Committee's early membership was criticized for these gaps both publicly and privately. Despite its varied representation, the group was labeled as a "bunch of bleeding hearts" by a local newspaper.

The Initial Confrontation:

The Chairman of the Area Council opened the first meeting of the Committee on October 4 and attempted to set the stage for its task. He described the conflicting extremes of opinion represented: the contention that de facto segregation existed in the Centerline Public Schools and should be eradicated by the school system, and the contention that, while de facto school segregation might exist, it was the result of residential segregation and discrimination in employment and not the business or concern of the Board of Education. He also indicated that the Committee's role was an advisory one and that its mission was to produce "constructive suggestions and recommendations" for consideration by the Board. It was requested and agreed that no public statement relating to the work of the Committee would be made by any member without the authorization of the Area Council Chairman. Insofar as possible, such statements were to be made only by the Area Council Chairman or the Committee Chairman. The latter was introduced to the group along with the Commission's professional researcher assigned to the Committee.¹ During the question and answer period that followed, the CORE representative stated CORE's position and other Committee members raised questions and offered their own insights into the problem before them. Since the Board of Education had not yet met to approve the resolution authorizing its participation (as quoted above), its position was presented informally by the one member of the school system's administration in attendance.

¹The Committee Chairman subsequently resigned and was replaced by another at the next meeting, apparently without major effect on the Committee's work.

CORE's demands were based on the following premises: (1) the Supreme Court had, in 1954, ruled racial segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional; (2) in terms of the impact of segregation on those involved, any distinction between de facto and de jure segregation is a spurious one; (3) de facto segregation exists in the Centerline Public Schools; and (4) therefore, it is the responsibility of the Board of Education to identify and eliminate segregated public school situations. As a result, CORE sought from the beginning both a Board policy statement acknowledging the existence of and opposing de facto segregation in the public schools and a plan for its eradication. The Board of Education, on the other hand, did distinguish between de jure segregation, which did not exist in Centerline, and de facto segregation. It maintained that if the latter existed, it was not the Board's responsibility. There were individuals on each side who placed themselves between these polar extremes, but the extremes define the area within which the Committee worked toward the development of consensus.

The Establishment of Ground Rules:

The second meeting was held on November 12, at which time the new Committee Chairman and the representatives of the Board of Education were formally introduced. The Chairman proposed that the Committee's work should be governed by the following agreements:

- (1) that the meetings of the Committee were to be confidential;
- (2) that no statement should be made by any participant to the mass media except with approval of the Chairman of the Area Council;
- (3) that the approach should be one of working together on a community problem;
- (4) that the organizations and agencies involved in the study should not undertake "direct action" while the deliberations were going on;
- (5) that forced segregation is a bad thing; and
- (6) that racial imbalance in [Centerline] schools is not caused by governmental action.

The Acting Superintendent of Schools questioned item four on the grounds that the school situation should not be considered in

a vacuum, apart from other racial problems in the community. The Chairman responded by stating that "direct action" was meant to refer to public statements and other activities that might prove embarrassing to the Committee and hamper its work. The provision for confidentiality was also questioned, since some Committee members would have to report to their respective constituencies. The CORE representative felt that such a stipulation worked "in favor of the conservative organizations and to the disfavor of 'action groups' like CORE." When asked what type of "action" was being referred to, he mentioned picketing. Both the Chairman of the Committee and another member said that such actions might be detrimental to the Committee's work. Apparently the issue was not explicitly resolved, although CORE did not initiate direct action during this period.

The CORE representative also suggested two additional "ground rules":

- (1) that de facto segregation is undesirable, and
- (2) that the purpose of the Committee was to "get something done about the situation in [Centerline]."

He again referred to CORE as being "action-oriented" and emphasized that its purpose was to stimulate change rather than simply to discuss problems. The Chairman responded to the effect that he expected the Committee to make definite progress toward meeting the problem but that if, after a few meetings, no progress became evident, members of the Committee as well as their organizations would be free to take "other types of action." Following further discussion, agreement was reached on the six points proposed by the Committee Chairman as well as the two offered by the CORE representative. In regard to "direct action," the Committee's consensus seemed to be that an action group such as CORE would be in a much stronger position if the Committee "failed to accomplish anything, given the full cooperation of CORE."

The Committee then turned to the task of defining its mission and, after much deliberation, the Chairman of the Area Council proposed four basic principles to guide its work, as follows:

- (1) segregation other than by deliberate choice of those segregated is bad;
- (2) racial imbalance in the [Centerline] schools does not result from a policy of deliberate action of the Board of Education;

- (3) neighborhood schools are a reasonable arrangement, and
- (4) there is an obligation of the public schools to do all they can to further equal educational opportunity.

After discussion of number three in particular, these four principles were adopted. The close attention to the details of "ground rules" and "basic principles," despite apparent overlap, suggests the extreme caution with which the participants were approaching their work.

Having achieved acceptance of these points, the Committee proceeded to explore the availability of essential informational resources. The research advisor assigned to the Committee distributed a projection of the probable effects of planned urban renewal projects on Centerline housing patterns. This material showed that while Negroes were being displaced by such projects, they were not being dispersed--rather, new concentrations of segregated housing were developing in adjacent areas. The Committee Chairman inquired about the availability of data that might be needed from the school system, but this question was deferred in view of the uncertainty of the school staff representative about what data could and could not be released. After the Chairman suggested that the Committee plan to meet every two weeks and proposed the topic of neighborhood schools for discussion at the next meeting, the group adjourned.

The Task at Hand:

The guidelines were continuously distilled and revised as the Committee became more deeply involved in its work, but they permitted the Committee to proceed in an organized manner during the months that followed. In general, school district representatives attempted to broaden the focus to encompass a variety of problems of "better education for all," while representatives of the protest groups sought to hone in on the specific issue of de facto school segregation. The latter approach received support from at least some of the "neutral" members, one of whom stated,

I do not believe that this Committee's problem is to decide whether curriculum or quality of teaching staff is adequate. My understanding was that this Committee was set up to find out (1) whether or not de facto segregation exists, (2) what can be done about it if it does exist, and (3) recommendations to the Board of Education to solve the problem.

Some school district representatives also continued to question the validity of CORE's supposed representation of the Negro community. One educator asked, "How many people does Mr. [CORE Chairman] represent? Many Negro parents have come to the Board of Education to indicate to me their satisfaction with the neighborhood schools . . . Some do not want to be desegregated."

"The number of persons involved is not our issue," responded another member. "Rather, it becomes a concern when any person feels his human rights have been violated."

It appears that particularly the professional staff representatives of the school district attempted to keep the Committee away from its nominally paramount task of considering racial imbalance by injecting extraneous problems for consideration. Although related to the de facto segregation issue, such problems could more appropriately have been handled by the Board of Education, the administrative staff itself, or by the Committee at a later date. The attempt to include broader questions at this time apparently served only to cloud the issue. By early December, there appeared to be a general consensus that the purview of the Committee would include, according to its Chairman, "broader areas than the present questions facing the Committee . . . but that the question of racial imbalance is our first consideration."

Interpretations of the function of the Committee also varied widely. Some viewed it as purely an advisory body whose recommendations could be accepted or rejected by the Board of Education at will, while others felt that it was the body charged with the task of formulating a plan that would be accepted by the Board with, perhaps, minor administrative changes. The Committee's actual role fell between these two poles as it attempted to (1) understand the problem of de facto public school segregation in Centerline, (2) understand the positions of the disputants involved, and (3) prepare a report including its recommendations to the Board. These three tasks occupied most of the Committee's time from October, 1962, through June, 1963.

The group began to tackle its substantive mission by examining traditional school reassignment procedures and their potential in the current situation: the shifting of school district boundaries and the "open school" policy. Briefly, the latter consists merely of announcing that vacancies exist in particular schools and allowing parents of children in other districts to register their children in these schools on a first come, first served basis until the desired capacity is reached. Open school plans have been used to help redistribute school populations from overcrowded schools and, although with little success, to meet demands for

integrated education on a voluntary basis. As will be seen, however, an open school policy can be a "double-edged sword" since it was this policy that permitted parental subversion of the later assignment of a large number of white youngsters to what had been a predominantly Negro junior high school. In any case, although the open school policy appealed to several Committee members because of its voluntary nature, figures presented by the school representatives on the utilization of an open school option provided the previous year demonstrated that this approach would probably lead to the desegregation of only a small number of Negro youngsters and could not serve as the basis for Committee consensus.

As has been seen above in the case of Parker, the shifting of school boundary lines can be used to preserve, promote, or destroy racial balance in a particular school. The Committee considered this possibility and incorporated specific school boundary change recommendations in its subsequent report to the Board of Education, but this, too, proved insufficient to provide for the desegregation of Negro youngsters whose homes were concentrated in one section of the inner city. In particular, boundary changes seemed to hold the potential for solving the problem at the high school level. Centerline then had only three high schools and, with a fourth under construction, was ready to establish new high school boundaries in any case. It seemed a relatively simple matter to divide the city into racially balanced quadrants for this purpose, and the Committee achieved consensus in this area relatively quickly and submitted these recommendations to the Board of Education in February. They are also incorporated in the June, 1963, report described below. The more critical and perplexing problems, however, concerned the junior high schools and, in particular, the elementary schools.

The Committee early became aware of its need for more facts on which to base its deliberations. The Regional Office of the Commission was able to provide maps showing nonwhite population patterns in Centerline in 1960 and projecting trends for 1961 and 1962. Maps showing the locations of substandard housing concentrations were also available, and the Committee sought school racial census figures from the school district. Without these, most members felt, it would be impossible to present specific, intelligently based recommendations. The representatives of the school district were reluctant to conduct a racial census or to share such data with the Committee, however, without state permission. There was also concern about the legality of establishing school district boundaries to promote racial balance. On these matters, the Committee sought and obtained the counsel of the Director of the Division of Intercultural Relations, State

Department of Education, who helped secure permission for the racial census. The census was then conducted and the results shared with the Committee. The Committee was also advised that the possible revision of boundary lines to establish greater racial balance did not seem contrary to state law.

Even with these data in hand, the Committee had to grope for a "handle" with which to move into its work. One member suggested that they "list possible solutions and discuss them one at a time" and offered the following for consideration: model school districts; the Princeton Plan; open school policies; busing; an appropriately planned program for building new schools; greater sharing of special services among schools; enrichment programs for schools serving "disadvantaged" children; and school boundary changes. These possibilities were discussed without apparent agreement. Busing was out of the question, according to one educator, because of its cost;¹ the voluntary nature of the open school policy gave it some appeal; an educator commented that constructing new school buildings was not a feasible solution because, "You cannot chase people with school buildings." Little attention seems to have been given at this point to the possibility of abandoning or sharply modifying the neighborhood school concept. It was in this regard that one educator stated, "Our junior and senior high schools are better physically integrated than the elementary schools because we have fewer of them." He continued, as has been quoted above, "Some children are not ready to go to schools which have social and economic standards above theirs. These standards are set by the neighborhoods in which the children live and the kinds of homes they come from."

The reply came from another member of the Committee: "It sounds as if the next logical step to that statement is separate but equal schools."

"I did not mean to imply this," replied the educator. "People feel comfortable in an area with which they are familiar. Even communication varies from one school in a neighborhood to another. It would be difficult for children to adjust to a completely new situation."

That this explanation did not fully satisfy the Committee can be seen from one member's response: "If you isolate Negro youths,

¹Little over a year later, the Board of Education was to approve the closing of two predominantly Negro schools and the busing of their pupils to many predominantly white schools.

they would never have an opportunity to interact with the rest of the society until it was too late."

The tenth meeting of the Committee was held on February 20, 1963, after almost five months of deliberation, and attention turned to introspection and evaluation as members began to consider their progress and their shortcomings as a working group. One of the official representatives of the Board of Education on the Committee pointed out that, since they were not directly involved, most members of the Board were unable to appreciate through experience the genuine struggles of interest and confrontation occurring at the meetings. Hence, the Committee decided that increased Board participation should be sought, at least in part through a joint meeting with the Board.

Some Committee members expressed doubts about the Board's commitment to school integration, particularly in view of its apparent inaction and its failure to state its official support for such a policy. The CORE Chairman stated,

I have a certain amount of difficulty in comprehending the Board's reactions. It seems to me that they missed a good opportunity to go on record as 'opposing sin' without having to do anything about it. One could conclude that the Board, as a group, is unwilling to commit itself on the question of racial imbalance.

However, other Committee members stressed the progress that had been made, particularly in view of the Board's refusal a year earlier to acknowledge that a problem in this area existed at all. Subsequent events seem to have illustrated that the Board was more committed to a policy of racial integration than it appeared to be, but with a great deal of reluctance. In any case, it seems apparent that the Board was moving in this direction and that the Committee was able to help or prod the Board to accelerate its pace while avoiding potentially divisive "direct action."

It was also proposed at this meeting that the Committee divide itself into two working subcommittees: a "Methods" subcommittee to gather and evaluate data and work toward concrete recommendations and proposals, and a "Public Education" subcommittee to focus its attention on the establishment and maintenance of appropriate communication with the mass media and the public. These subcommittees were appointed and a joint meeting with the Board of Education was scheduled for March 13.

At the joint meeting, the conflict in thinking between some

members of the Board and the areas of consensus which had been achieved by its advisory body--the Committee--became dramatically evident. The Committee's basic operating premise that segregation per se is negative was not acceptable to all Board members, as is illustrated in the following statement made by one of them:

I don't accept the premise that racial imbalance creates any kind of missed opportunity. I don't think that the schools should accept responsibility for solving what is basically a housing problem. If your premise is valid, and I don't think it is, there is no way to implement it without causing more problems than we'd solve. If someone could make a case for a particular child who did not have an equal opportunity to get the best possible education in our public schools, I would want to solve that particular problem, but I can't see that race enters into it. We can do what you suggest at the high school level without many practical problems. I don't necessarily admit that we should do it.

In response to this statement, one of the Committee members said,

In a sense, then, we are far apart on basic ideas. In the history of the whole world, when a group is separated by reason of race, class, caste, etc., it begets ingroup feeling which is unhealthy for both the minority and majority groups. We have seen that nationality groups in this country were unable to fully participate in our way of life until they had an opportunity to move out of the ghetto. A situation can be created by problems in housing, economic factors and many other forces. However, as I understand it, the job of the school system is to implement our democratic ideals. A substantial racial imbalance in any public institution is not in harmony with our democratic way of life.

Hence, there was virtually no agreement on principle at this meeting, although this was to change by July, when the Board was to state a policy revision. There was, however, agreement that

busing should be avoided, at least for the present. The Board also accepted the Committee's recommendations on high school districting virtually intact and urged that the Committee continue its discussions and make further recommendations. Thus, the first direct confrontation between the Board and the Committee had occurred and, despite substantial disagreement, the school integration issue remained at the conference table.

Perhaps somewhat reassured of its mandate, the Committee returned to the discussion of specific programs and proposals. Two meetings were devoted primarily to the potential role of the Jefferson Project, mentioned above, which was designed to help disadvantaged or "culturally deprived" children to become better "equipped" to benefit from regular classroom instruction. The Committee was not primarily concerned with the Project's value or effectiveness, but it sought ways in which the Project's accumulating experience might be of help in the task of formulating recommendations for the Board.

As late as May 1, neither of the subcommittees was able to report much progress. The Methods subcommittee had been delayed in its work because the school racial census had not been completed. The Public Education subcommittee was able to report only in general terms that it had defined its mandate as to "interpret to the general public the findings of this Committee" and was working toward implementing this task.

The Report--Consensus and Dissent:

The two meetings held in June terminated the first phase of the Committee's work and dealt specifically with the recommendations to be incorporated in the Committee's report to the Board of Education. Motions were passed requesting: (1) that elementary school boundary changes under Board consideration be deferred pending submission of the report; and (2) that the Board issue a policy statement on racial imbalance in the Centerline Public Schools.¹ On June 26, 1963, the Committee considered and, with one dissenting vote, approved the recommendations submitted by the Methods Subcommittee. While it was recognized by most of the Committee members that their recommendations could not be implemented that fall, there was general agreement that they should be included

¹Votes on motions were usually reported in the Committee's minutes simply as "passed" or not, so it is not clear how or whether the Committee split on these motions.

in the report. Hence, the initial phase of negotiation ended on a note of near harmony, and the immediate next steps would be up to the Board. In any case, the groundwork had been laid for an eventual accommodation between the school district and the protest groups.

The dissenting vote was cast not by a representative of the protesting groups but by a Committee member who explained his vote as follows:

I do not accept the premise that because a school happens to be predominantly Negro, the children there are per se disadvantaged, and that racial balance is the overriding consideration in setting boundaries. I think that the report should be submitted to the Board as it is a surprisingly good report if one agrees with the basic premise that there is a problem. It is almost impossible to have the total plan take effect by this September. As a practical consideration, I do not think that the Board will announce it as a policy or fact between now and election time. I think the report should be sent with whatever recommendations you deem appropriate as far as urgency is concerned. This does not mean that I endorse the report. This Committee should make their recommendations and the reasons for them public. If the Board is asked to accept the principle and the recommendations, I will go against it. The neighborhood school concept has always seemed important to me. . . You have probably arrived at the most practical solution to the problem if one admits that a problem exists. I do not accept the basic premise.

The Committee's Report to the Board of Education was circulated on June 27, 1963. It began with a statement of the Committee's origin and the source of its involvement in this particular situation, a summary of the major questions that were considered, definitions of and the distinction between de facto and de jure segregation, and a statement of the principles that guided the Committee's work. Included also were the conclusions of the Committee that racial imbalance or school segregation is inconsistent with the basic principles of education in a free, democratic society, that a pattern of racial imbalance did exist in the Centerline Public Schools, and that the Board of Education had not been responsible for the development of the existing imbalance.

The report offered general recommendations to the Board as well as specific elementary, junior high, and senior high school redistricting proposals. It is not a lengthy report, but its message is clear. Included are the following recommendations:

1. That, hereinafter, the Board take race into consideration on all school levels as an important factor in such matters as redistricting, site selection, and the abandonment or modification of school plant facilities, with the end in view of securing the optimum degree of proportionate racial distribution in the schools compatible with formerly accepted standards of pupil-school distance limitations.
2. That the Board instruct its staff to undertake whatever research and formulate whatever proposals necessary to redistrict the [Centerline] elementary public schools in keeping with the above considerations, said proposals to be submitted to the Board no later than August, 1963, and subsequent to Board action to take effect in September, 1963.¹
3. That the Board instruct its staff to undertake whatever research and formulate whatever proposals necessary to redistrict the [Centerline] public junior and senior high schools with the same end in view, said proposals to be submitted to the Board no later than May, 1964, and, subsequent to Board action, to take effect in September, 1964.
4. Finally, we recommend that the insights and techniques developed through the [Jefferson] Project continue to be utilized as disadvantaged students, both Negro and white, are relocated in different schools as a result of redistricting.

¹Such proposals were eventually presented to the Board in February, 1964, and a limited version of the Committee's specific redistricting proposals was approved by the Board for implementation in September, 1964.

Although the recommendations and proposals were not specifically implemented by the Board upon its receipt of the report, the report did provide specific proposals with which the Board could deal in its endeavor to evolve a viable approach to the school segregation issue. The Board would now have to decide whether to follow, in substance if not in detail, the advice of the group to which it had turned under the pressure of "direct action" by the protest organizations. The alternative was to reject the efforts of the Committee whose members had struggled with this community problem for nearly nine months and risk their censure as well as the likely renewal of some form of protest demonstrations.

Also in June of 1963, the State Education Department issued a "Special Message on Racial Imbalance" to all local school boards and superintendents. This message put the state on record as actively opposed to de facto public school desegregation and called on local school districts to work toward its elimination. Thus, pressure from another outside source reinforced that of the Education Committee, and the Board of Education moved toward acceptance of the Committee's thinking. Perhaps the fact that the pressure was in part external made it politically easier for the Board to change its stance. In any case, the Committee continued to function and was later instrumental in developing the integration plan implemented in the fall of 1964, but the next important moves came from the Board of Education.

The Process of Dialogue:

Most of the committee members who were interviewed were convinced that the experience of serving on the Committee was a valuable one that gave them new insight into the scope and depth of the problem of school racial imbalance. As one observer stated, it was

. . . the result of discussion, argument, and study, the result of deliberate consideration, and it [the Committee process] was an amazing example of . . . a remarkable degree of consensus arising from what has previously been referred to as the dialogue process or the process of dialogue. I found it amazing because . . . I've always been very skeptical as to the degree to which discussion of an issue could effect attitude change; that is, discussion devoid of emotional involvement . . . I observed in this Committee's operation

a remarkable degree of attitude change, real attitude change that I simply, previously, would not have believed to be possible through discussion . . . I can't prove that there was attitude change simply because we didn't measure attitudes before and after, but I can swear that there was because I saw it . . .

If this "process of dialogue" is viewed as an attempt to reach a workable degree of consensus through deliberate study, discussion, and argument, then it seems clear that the process was effective in the confrontation described above. Even though a considerable area of "consensus through dialogue" was reached, however, important problems remained. Basic disagreement on means of implementation continued throughout and beyond the period of the current study. Perhaps this could have been alleviated had there been a way of transmitting the direct and often intense interpersonal experiences of those who served on the Committee to their respective constituencies. Agreements seem to be more easily reached through personal contact under appropriate auspices than between faceless, nameless adversaries. Finally, a basic question that goes to the heart of our sociopolitical institutions concerns how effectively this decision-making mechanism (or any viable alternative) can serve the youngsters whose welfare and growth should be the primary focus and concern of the schools.

Conclusions:

The Report of the Committee and its recommendations to the Board established beyond reasonable doubt that racial imbalance in the Centerline Public Schools was a matter of broad community concern rather than simply an issue being pushed by isolated pressure groups. No longer could the Board, school district administrators, or other community leaders ignore the problem, whether through naïveté or conviction, without risking censure from powerful interests in the community. No longer could school authorities depend on solid support from the community if the protest groups undertook "direct action." Thus, the negotiations leading to the June 27, 1963, report marked the beginning of the end of public ignorance about the problems presented by de facto public school segregation in Centerline. Major attention could now be turned from defining the problem to seeking a solution, although it will be seen that a significant degree of resistance to such attempts remained to be overcome.

It seems apparent that the Committee's work from October, 1962, to June, 1963, played a fundamental role in pinpointing the problem

and analyzing its scope and depth, largely by providing an opportunity for differing points of view to be expressed and challenged under private, relatively confidential circumstances. Largely freed of the need to impress their respective constituencies, the participants were able to confront each other as individuals sharing concern with a common problem. They could work cooperatively toward a consensus that represented an accommodation between differing convictions and perceived power positions. Thus, solutions to public problems may be facilitated and discord minimized without the glare of public attention. "Open covenants, openly arrived at" makes good rhetoric but may not be the most efficient vehicle for honest and open debate over public issues. It seems evident that the "process of dialogue" led to the modification of attitudes and opinions as well as positions among some of the participants, but the significant decision-makers who were less directly involved were apparently less influenced, if at all. Even the changed perspectives of some participants seem to have been subject to a degree of "slippage" after the conclusion of this first intensive phase of the Committee's work.

It was not the Committee alone, however, that was responsible for the Board's emerging concern with racial imbalance. Like other communities in modern, urban, industrialized society, Centerline is not isolated from events elsewhere, and the early 1960's were marked by widespread concern and action in matters of race relations and civil rights. The state provided "neutral" grounds for negotiation, essential information about legal ramifications, relevant situations elsewhere, and the like, and other help as needed. Its staff representatives were in a position of both independence and prestige, since their allegiance was to the state rather than the city and since the responsible Human Relations Commissioner was a gubernatorial appointee and a retired judge. Finally, of major direct importance in the Centerline situation was the intervention of the state through the Education Department's special message, which happened to be issued as the Committee was preparing its own report. This extra-local influence provided the Board of Education and the Community with another major impetus to the official recognition of public school racial imbalance as a significant concern, a necessary prerequisite to the formulation and implementation of plans to alleviate it.

IV. The Board Formulates Its First Plan:

At the end of June, 1963, the Board of Education announced that it would consider "racial balance" in making future boundary revisions. This marked the close of the first phase of private discussions and negotiations between representatives of the Board and of the protest groups with civic, business, and state officials participating as interested third parties. Now the spotlight was on the Board and its staff as they worked to implement this decision through a formal statement of the changed policy and a plan of action. The new Superintendent took office on July 1, and he has played a major role in the matter of desegregation ever since. Perhaps partly to give him time to become more fully oriented and more actively involved, the Board agreed to the Committee's request to suspend redistricting plans until it could take the Committee's report into account. As a result, the contemplated boundary-line revisions for the fall of 1963 were deferred until the fall of 1964.

A New Policy Statement from the Board:

On July 16, 1963, the Board of Education considered the following statement in which five points seem particularly worthy of emphasis as departures from previous policy and the Board's earlier public position:¹

BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY STATEMENT
CONCERNING RACIAL IMBALANCE
IN
[CENTERLINE] PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Board of Education of the City School District of [Centerline], in cooperation with the Education Committee of the [Centerline] Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights, confirms the long-held principle that equality of educational opportunity for all children, without regard to socioeconomic, ethnic, religious, or racial differences, is essential to the continued vital growth of our community and basic to a free and open American democratic society.

¹Indications of emphasis have been added by the authors.

The primary goal of the [Centerline] Board of Education has been and continues to be the fullest possible development of every child through the best education for all children.

The [Centerline] Board of Education assumes a leadership responsibility for alleviating those conditions which interfere with the realization of the above-stated objectives.

In this light, the Board of Education feels that a racial balance within individual schools, more nearly conforming to the over-all community pattern, is desirable and would contribute to the educational and social development of all children.

In [Centerline], the existence of racial imbalance is a reflection of the residential composition which the neighborhood schools serve. The neighborhood school is a sound concept which the Board endorses, unless neighborhood patterns interfere with the educational and social development of the children which this type of school is designed to serve. The Board feels, however, that the neighborhood school concept should be the basis for plans to establish those conditions most favorable to the achievement of racial balance.

In keeping with the above beliefs, the [Centerline] Board of Education, together with its professional staff, is taking steps to plan for immediate and long range measures that will lead to the successful development of racially balanced schools.

The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools, in addition to expanding the "open school" policy, have taken or are planning to take the following steps:

1. Consider seriously the proposals of the Education Committee of the [Centerline] Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights dealing with racial imbalance and continue to work cooperatively with the Committee in seeking effective solutions to the problem.

2. Establish racial balance as an additional factor to be considered in boundary revisions, site selection, and modification of school plant facilities; this balance to be promoted in a manner consistent with the goal of providing in the neighborhood schools the best possible education for all pupils.
3. Communicate with the public which the Board of Education serves concerning the nature of the problem and the steps in the planning process aimed at its solution.
4. Discuss fully with all concerned, including parents and teachers, any proposed re-districting or reassignment of pupils for the purpose of improving racial balance.
5. Instruct the [Jefferson] Project staff to develop proposals and plan for utilization of necessary special services and skills in other schools which will provide effective measures for ensuring successful racial integration.
6. Involve the entire teaching and non-teaching staff of the [Centerline] City School District in the planning process.

In this statement, the Board admits that a problem of racial imbalance in the schools exists; it had previously insisted that such a problem did not exist. The Board accepts the initiative in altering the status quo; previously, the Board had taken the stand that even if such a situation did exist, it did not have any responsibility (and perhaps not the legal right) to do anything about it. The Board was now willing to admit, however grudgingly, that the neighborhood school concept might have to be modified to achieve better racial balance. Finally, after having formally refused to consider racial balance as a factor in the evolution and development of school policy (although it was considered informally in the case of Parker School in the summer of 1962), the Board now specifically states that it will take it into account. Of course, the phrase, "racial balance as an additional factor" seems worded so as not to be construed as "the" factor or the "paramount" factor. This policy statement can, nevertheless, be viewed as a true departure from the Board's previous position in support

of the status quo. However, it was merely a statement of policy, a list of desired goals, rather than a program or plan of action that would translate it into practice. To state that one is "against sin" is one thing; to try actively to "stamp out sin" is another.

On July 16, 1963, at the same meeting of the Board, the following motion was proposed:

Resolved, that the Board of Education Policy Statement concerning Racial Imbalance in [Centerline] Public Schools be adopted as a guideline for future actions by the Board of Education and staff of the City School District.

Another motion, waiving the rules governing the tabling of proposed policy changes, was passed unanimously, and the policy statement itself was passed, six Board members approving, one Board member abstaining.

The policy statement came just one year after the first CORE-NAACP charges of de facto school segregation in Centerline public schools, although it was not released publicly at that time. Reactions from persons who had participated in the deliberations on this problem were varied. The leaders of the protest responded with a mixture of limited praise and a desire for a plan of action. The following excerpts from the Education Committee's minutes of September 3, 1963, reveal some of these feelings, although the minutes do not identify individual speakers:

The reaction of the members of the Committee was being sought before the statement was made public. Concern was expressed about implementation of this policy and some feeling that publicity with respect to specifics is vital. . . . Feeling was also expressed that the statement is not clear nor does it really express a policy. . . . Other members were not concerned about specific plans, and they thought that the policy was quite clear in that it indicated: (1) racial imbalance exists, (2) it is bad, (3) something is going to be done about it. . . .

There seems to be agreement that the major point was a commitment from the Board that something was going to be done about the problem.

Three general comments perhaps best characterize the range of reaction. The first is from a member of one of the protest groups:

. . . no move was made [by the Board] except this policy statement which . . . was kind of vague.

Another member of the Education Committee felt that:

. . . the Board statement of policy or statement of principle is, by and large, very sound. There are several qualifications that are made in the statement that indicate that integration by no means assumes a commanding goal or object. But, by and large, it impresses me as being a very good statement of policy.

And finally, a reaction from someone else close to the problem was:

In the end, the Board's policy statement was a compromise which satisfied most of the Board and the Education Committee, although there were more areas of unhappiness.

The last comment seems to be a good assessment of the policy statement and the reactions it elicited. It was not a bold or radical departure from the Board's earlier position, nor was it merely an empty collection of vague phrases forced out of a recalcitrant group of conservatives. Regardless of its faults, the policy statement must be interpreted as a step toward ending de facto school segregation in Centerline. It was a compromise, a normal expression of the democratic process as it moves toward the resolution of a problem.

From a Policy to a Plan:

The Committee as well as members of the Board felt that the policy statement represented at least a minimal consensus on intent to action. The policy statement called upon the school professional staff, along with others, to consider the specific proposals the Committee had put forward in its report and to formulate a plan that could be put into operation to improve the racial balance of schools in the Centerline system. Nearly all of the persons involved recognized that such a plan would necessarily comprise a series of phases rather than an "instant," definitive solution to the problem

of de facto school segregation. It seemed apparent, however, that the Board was committed to action.

Five Education Committee meetings were held between September 3, 1963, and another joint meeting of the Board of Education and the Education Committee on February 12, 1964. As has been indicated, the September 3rd meeting of the Education Committee entailed an examination, discussion, and analysis of the Board's policy statement, which had been privately circulated among Committee members in advance. Some members had expressed concern over what they called the vagueness and compromising nature of the Board's statement. Most, however, while holding reservations, saw in the statement a change in the Board's previous position. They interpreted this change as a definite commitment by the Board to do something about racial imbalance in the public schools. The Committee anticipated that the school system would need two to three months to develop specific boundary change proposals.

At its meetings after September 3, the Education Committee tackled the task of making preparations to inform the public of what they (the Committee) expected to be the forthcoming plan for implementation of the policy seeking a better racial balance. The Committee did not underestimate the magnitude of this task. As one source stated, "There is a selling job to be done in the total community."

At the November 11, 1963, meeting, the subcommittee on Public Information presented its last report. This report recommended the abolition of the subcommittee, "since the main task of the general committee was now that of public information and education." It is important to note the implication here that the Education Committee assumed that earlier disagreements over the value of an integrated school system had been resolved and that the School Board had instructed the professional staff to draw up specific proposals for the fall of 1964 to tackle the problem of racial imbalance. Hence, the Committee felt that its general recommendations (in the June report) had been accepted and that its specific recommendations would form the basis of the Board's first plan.

The subcommittee further recommended that meetings be held at which the Committee would explain its progress to the following groups: the mass media; business, labor, and real estate groups; the Chamber of Commerce; city and other social agencies; professional organizations; parent-community groups; religious groups; and general civic groups and their service organizations. The Chairman of the Committee then turned to the question of the basic

responsibility of the Board of Education. The following is an excerpt from the Committee minutes:

[The Chairman stated] . . . While the problem is a community problem, the responsibility for handling it rests specifically with the Board of Education. He expressed his opinion that more involvement on the part of the Board was essential to success. Some discussion followed of the tendency to give close and careful attention to certain problems in times of crises but to forget them once the crises had passed. The opinion was expressed that the Board had incorporated the thinking of the Committee in its day-to-day activities, so that it could not be said that the matter of racial imbalance had been forgotten. However, the need for additional involvement during the coming months was stressed.

The December 11, 1963, meeting dealt with the mechanics of informing the public of the anticipated change. The Committee had now formally taken over the task of public information. It was decided that the mass media would be briefed first. Such a meeting took place during the week of January 5, 1964. A specific record of what transpired was not available to us, but there is some indication that the communications media representatives were quite hostile. In reporting on this meeting, the Regional Director of the Commission stated that "although the mass media representatives were upset because they claimed this was the first indication they had of our plans, this was exaggerated because the Committee's press release in June had given them all of the information they needed." The President of the local NAACP Chapter stated that "this exaggeration might have been the result of their feelings about racial harmony." The Chairman of CORE felt that Committee, Board, and school staff members who attended were disconcerted by the adverse reactions of the leading representatives of the mass media to the work that had been done.

The January 15, 1964, meeting also dealt with the problems of informing the public. The meeting with the mass media was discussed, and many members indicated that the press had taken advantage of the unorganized approach used by both Committee and school staff personnel. The development of a systematic approach to informing the public was also considered.

The Committee's next meeting was the critical joint meeting

with the Board of Education on February 12, 1964. Present were all seven Board Members, the Superintendent and several of his key staff, the staff of the State Commission for Human Rights, and six members of the Education Committee including the spokesmen for CORE and the NAACP. The Chairman of the Education Committee presided, and he began by asking the director of the school system's Research Department for his progress report.

Since the technical task of redrawing boundary lines rests with the Research Department of the school district, most Committee and Board members had apparently assumed that the Research Department would proceed with a redrawing of school boundaries as the best method for securing a greater racial balance in the schools. In fact, it seems that many of those attending thought that the professional staff had finalized its plan and was going to present specific proposals for achieving greater racial balance. This did not occur. To the surprise of many of those present, the Director of the Research Department asked for "clarification" on "intent";

instead of a plan, there was a call for more discussion of basic philosophies. What had the school staff done during the five months since the beginning of the school year? It would seem that the staff was proceeding very cautiously. Perhaps the staff was more aware of basic disagreements on purpose evident on the Board than were the others involved. Or perhaps the staff was guilty of dragging its feet. It seems likely that the delay was due in part to each of these factors as well as to the problems inherent in an undermanned staff.

In any case, the Committee met immediately after the joint meeting and, according to the minutes, it was decided

. . . that the Committee would send a letter of protest to the Board of Education. This will include the fact that the Committee has not been taken into account when plans have been made or statements released relating to the areas on which this Committee has been working. It has been difficult for the Committee to give information to interested persons because the Committee does not have this information. The Committee cannot properly fulfill its role of helping the Board of Education with the problem of racial imbalance in the schools unless it is treated as an equal member of the team. It was the Committee's feeling that it had been ignored by the Board.

It is obvious from this excerpt that the Committee as a whole was disappointed with the joint meeting. The degree of anxiety and genuine disappointment over the Board's failure to have taken positive steps for improving the racial balance in the schools was expressed even more strongly at the Committee's next meeting, on February 26. The representatives of the protest groups were not alone in feeling that they had been "used" by the Board in an effort to "buy time" and then betrayed. At its Regular Meeting on February 18, however, the Board had received a report from the Superintendent stating that, as a result of the February 12 joint meeting, the administration and staff were committed to have specific recommendations designed to improve and facilitate racial balance ready for Board consideration at its Special Study Session scheduled for February 26. The Committee now had little choice, therefore, but to await the outcome of the Board of Education's Special Study Session that evening.

The report submitted to the Board by the Research Department at the Study Session was entitled, "School District Organization and School District Boundary Changes for September, 1964." It began with the statement that:

The following proposals are offered for the purpose of improving the educational program through a more efficient city-wide operation of school plants by reducing over-crowded schools, retiring obsolete buildings or facilities, re-establishing neighborhood schools, re-defining neighborhood school areas, improving racial balance and providing increased flexibility for future re-organizations.

While racial balance is listed as the fifth of six purposes of the proposed changes, three of the six specific proposals included in the "package" seemed fully attributable to considerations of racial balance and a fourth at least partly so. The other two changes involved were relatively minor and routine.

The implication seems clear that the confrontation between the Board and the Committee on February 12 stimulated the development of this proposal and that, had such a meeting not occurred, action on the matter by the fall of 1964 would have been unlikely. It is interesting to note in this context that what could apparently not be accomplished in the six months before the joint meeting--the preparation of a specific plan by the school system--was done in the two weeks immediately afterward. Study Sessions

are closed to the public and it is not known to the authors exactly what happened at this one, but the Superintendent was able to assure the Committee at its next meeting that the plan would have the Board's unanimous public support.

On the elementary school level, racial balance at two schools would be affected. About 60 first, second, and third graders would be bused from predominantly Negro, lower class Hayes School to predominantly white, middle class Tyler. An overage school plant with an increasingly nonwhite pupil population that had reached almost 40 per cent was to be closed and the pupils redistricted to several other schools nearby. One of these, Gilbert, was expected to have a significantly increased Negro population--from 5 per cent in 1963-64 to 12 per cent in 1964-65--as a result. No provision was made in the plan to alleviate racial imbalance at the most predominantly nonwhite school in the city, Horace Mann. There would also be little effect on Hayes, where the situation was similar, except that about 60 Negro youngsters would move to a predominantly white school.

On the junior high school level, where only Jefferson School was predominantly nonwhite, two changes were proposed. About 75 Jefferson pupils were to be redistricted to Dexter Junior High, a predominantly white, middle class school. In addition, in the most extensive part of the proposal, Peterson Junior High would be closed and its 233 students, predominantly white, would be redistricted to Jefferson. Had these changes taken place as planned, Jefferson would have changed from 78 per cent Negro to 55 per cent white. The Peterson students were, however, from a lower class area; their economic and, to some extent, cultural and social circumstances were similar to those of the Negroes at Jefferson. Therefore, this part of the plan promised to offer little in the way of "models" to "inspire" disadvantaged Negroes to improved achievement. The youngsters newly assigned to Dexter, Gilbert, and Tyler would be exposed to seemingly more stimulating environments, but those remaining at Hayes and Horace Mann would not.

Reaction to the Plan:

The Superintendent presented the plan to the Education Committee on March 2. It had still not been made public. Copies of the plan were distributed to those in attendance and, before it was explained and discussed in detail, the Superintendent made the following statement:

I would like to say that when the Board of Education met last week, informally, they voted unanimously to approve the proposals you have

before you. In other words, it is understood that this will be their vote at their meeting. We are not in an easy situation here, and I hope we can have a consensus from this group. I think there is definitely something to be gained from a joint endorsement.

After a detailed presentation of the plan and related matters, the Superintendent asked for reactions from the Committee. The representative of CORE had left earlier but had indicated that he would present the proposal to his organization and would notify school officials of CORE's reactions. The NAACP representative said,

As a member of the Committee, my first reaction is to question why nothing is being done about Horace Mann. There have been commitments about changes for Horace Mann for '65 and '66. If these projected plans are detailed enough for the public to have a general idea, it would be helpful. I also have some reservations about the cost of implementation. I would like to hear from the city administration about the possibility of these costs being met. With some reservations about the senior high proposal and a few about the junior high, I would be agreeable to the plan. As president of the NAACP, I would have to take this plan to that group for discussion. Probably the same reservations would occur. Perhaps with more details on Horace Mann, there would be fewer problems.

An optimistic member of the Committee was much impressed:

I am enormously impressed with the specific proposals and their farsightedness. I am as much encouraged as I was completely discouraged a week ago. . . . If this kind of thinking continues, we will have a logical, sound, and future-looking program like no other city in the country.

A prominent businessman on the Committee expressed more caution than praise:

As a first step, and only as a first step, the program is satisfactory. In its presentation,

it would be helpful to indicate to the community that this is the first step in attacking the problem. It should be pointed out that the schools which are the two highest in terms of racial imbalance are not particularly affected and that future programs are being worked on. If this package is indicative of the Board's intention to study and to work on this problem, this is all a citizen can ask. . . .

Before this meeting closed, the Superintendent was asked why the Board saw the proposals first and why communication was so poor. He replied,

We are operating in unfamiliar territory, and you will have to be tolerant with us. I don't know whether this Committee should have seen the proposals first. I thought we had a mandate from this Committee to bring in a set of proposals. I only ask that we try to get together to agree on something. Some of the Board members had thought we were going too far, and there are probably others who think we haven't gone far enough. But they did agree to approve it unanimously. I only hope that the Committee can do the same. . . . You may quarrel with the modus operandi, and this is a point well taken. However, this is our first attempt, and it's more than I have seen in many cities. We are as anxious as you are to move meaningfully in this area. . . . We need as much endorsement as we can get, and a united front would help to sell the community.

The school system had presented its case. Some reaction was elicited, but official reaction from both the NAACP and CORE was still to come, following discussions with their membership. Therefore, the Committee decided to postpone its formal response until its meeting scheduled for March 11. Although there were still misgivings about the proposals and inaction in certain areas, the Committee voted unanimously on March 11 to endorse the plan for September, 1964.

Immediate reaction to the Board's plan by those involved could, perhaps, best be characterized as "cautious consensus." The plan was essentially a compromise between those who wanted the School Board to assume leadership in tackling the problem of

racial imbalance and those who, for various reasons, did not want any action to be taken. It was clearly not a plan to integrate the schools in the Centerline System, nor was it a redistricting plan that failed to consider the factor of racial balance in some schools. It reflected the disagreement in the community as a whole and, in particular, among those groups which attempted to influence educational policy in this area, on the issue of integrated schools.

Both sides--those in favor of and those against educational policies designed to promote school desegregation--could claim partial victory. Those in favor could say, "This is the first step. We have been able to convince some members of the Board that an active policy of school desegregation is not only desirable but necessary, and this first plan is indicative of this position." Those against could say, "We have successfully avoided making the goal of an improved racial balance in the schools the primary factor in redistricting plans. We have prevented the Board from getting involved in what we see as the obnoxious process of fixing racial 'quotas.'"

V. Public Reaction and Board Action:

The spring of 1964 was a turbulent period in relation to public education in Centerline. The Board gave preliminary approval to the plan and made it public. Final, official approval came in May, although some opposition continued thereafter. In the interim, interested groups and the public at large examined and studied the plan and its possible implications and brought pressure to bear "pro" and "con" to attempt to influence the Board's decisions. The Board and others concerned attempted, meanwhile, to inform and educate the community in an effort to achieve at least a reasonable degree of consensus. Some groups and individuals, of course, actively opposed the plan and tried to impede movement toward public consensus and official approval and implementation of the plan itself.

Announcement of the Plan:

On March 17, the Board considered a redistricting plan that had apparently been released to the mass media the day before. "Improving racial balance" was listed as one of six reasons for the proposals offered. The proposed busing of about 60 youngsters from Hayes School to Tyler was omitted from the formal plan submitted to and tabled by the Board. At the April meeting, the proposal was again tabled, this time together with the Hayes-Tyler transfer. While the reasons for this apparent omission are not known, it is presumed that key members of the Education Committee exerted pressure behind the scenes to have the busing segment of the plan restored, that school officials had decided to present the total plan in two steps for strategic reasons, that the busing plan involved details which still needed clarification, or that a simple oversight was involved. There was also some dispute during this period regarding the number of children to be bused from Hayes to Tyler, the projected number varying between 50 and 100, but the Hayes-Tyler transfer seems to have been in the range of public awareness during most or all of the spring. One might surmise that the apparent reduction in the number of children scheduled to be bused from Hayes to Tyler (80 proposed in April, 58 approved in May) reflected a concession to concerned Tyler parents. The protesters, on the other hand, may have been content to settle for the establishment of the precedent of busing children to promote racial balance.

The Board of Education used a variety of techniques to interpret its decision to the public. The first step was the Superintendent's meeting with the Education Committee on March 2, described above. While the Education Committee endorsed the plan,

it seems to have played a relatively minor role in publicizing its support. Apparently, the Committee's work in this area never got far beyond the planning stage, although the Committee did participate in a session held on April 8 to help orient the principals and PTA representatives of the schools involved, citywide parents' organizations, and others closely concerned.

It appears that when the plan was released publicly, the use of communications media by the Board of Education and the school system was poorly organized. The Superintendent, as the official spokesman of the Board, was forced to shoulder the major burden of informing myriad interested parties personally. He was not only charged with the job of explaining the actual plan, but also had the major task of clarifying misconceptions that had resulted from earlier false interpretations in the press and elsewhere. While one cannot always prevent the development of calculated and accidental misinterpretations, it seems likely that a more carefully planned public relations program might have eased the emotional and, sometimes, physical burdens that were endured by all concerned during these crucial weeks.

Opportunities for formal public reaction to and discussion of the plan were provided at the April meeting of the Board and at a series of public hearings and private meetings at which Board members and school officials were in attendance. In addition, special "briefings" were held for key individuals who could help to marshal broader public support. It is evident from such actions that the Board and its top staff paid closer attention to their public relations roles at this stage of the controversy as they tried hard to minimize adverse reaction. These efforts seem to have been effective, since the opposition that did arise was not as strong as many had expected. The precaution of having plainclothesmen in the audiences at public hearings appears to have been unnecessary; voices were sometimes raised, but no physical violence broke out. On the whole, the meetings were fairly orderly.

Reaction to the Board's Plan:

Reactions, of course, ranged along a broad continuum. Two of the extremes were as follows:

Civil rights in terms of racial balance and the March plan got a free ride. Peterson was scheduled to be closed in 1957. It just happened that its closing waited this long. Racial imbalance was not the priority factor, and it

never will be in regard to school policy.

The Board plan was a good first step. It was basically a good plan, motivated by consideration of racial imbalance.

Other people took positions between these two. It is interesting to note that the reaction of one of the protest groups, namely, that the plan was in no sense of the word a plan for school integration, was quite close to the most conservative reaction of many individuals firmly opposed to efforts to improve racial balance, albeit for different reasons. Virtually no one saw this first attempt by the Board as the final answer; for one reason or another, continued community involvement in the problem was generally anticipated.

In the interviews conducted with persons closely involved with the events of the period, this basic question was asked: "What do you, personally, think of the redistricting plan as presented by the Board for 1964?" The similarities and differences within this heterogeneous group are reflected in the following sample responses:

A first step only--intended to be a first step. But it is a forward step.

Not enough--basically a Research Department-[Jefferson] Project Plan--but also a Board plan.

A piddling first step--not a real plan for integration.

I think it is a reaction and not an action by the Board. Some on the Board feel that the Board did not go far enough. I don't agree. The Board reacted rather than acted, and I don't think that this is right. It has been a gradual response to the force exerted on the Board.

The plan . . . doesn't really represent any major changes as far as our schools are concerned. . . . I would say the plan surely does not accomplish what is necessary, but it is a beginning.

Too little--a token step. Maybe no more could be done.

I approved of the plan, as did others; but I think it would have been wiser if race had not been emphasized.

Board members felt it was a good plan. It was not the complete answer. But it was the best that the Board could do at the time.

Most of these reactors shared the belief that the plan for the fall of 1964 was only a first step. Some felt it was a "wrong" step, while others chided the Board for not going further. It should be remembered that the interviews took place after the public hearings were held and before the fall of 1964, when the anticipated student migrations were to begin. The opinions expressed had, therefore, been tempered by public reaction and, often, by public protest.

Following the unanimous endorsement of the plan by the Education Committee on March 11, 1964, others in the community began to lend their support. The official minutes of the Board meetings and news reports from the local press note the following groups and individuals and the dates of their endorsements:

- (1) The Mayor, on March 16th, who called the plan "a beginning for the elimination of de facto segregation";
- (2) The NAACP and CORE, on March 16th, with the qualification,

The proposal does nothing to correct racial imbalance at the city's two predominantly Negro elementary schools;

- (3) The [Centerline] Metropolitan Area League of Women Voters, on March 19th, which stated,

The League of Women Voters of the [Centerline] Metropolitan Area endorses the principle of redistricting for improving racial balance and commends the [Centerline] School Board for its efforts toward equalizing the integration of the public schools;

- (4) The Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, on April 15th, which stated,

The Commission . . . passed a resolution . . . which supports the recent integration proposal by school officials . . . as a constructive step toward integration and toward providing all groups of people residing in the community with an equal opportunity in education;

- (5) A group of 218 [John Tyler] parents, in May, 1964, expressed

"support for the plan to use classrooms at [John Tyler] to relieve overcrowding and racial imbalance."

Finally, other groups including the Centerline Unitarian Church, the Inter-Faith Council, and the Catholic Diocese in Centerline endorsed the Board's action. It is noteworthy that support statements did not come from business or social organizations, perhaps because they were not officially involved in the process of formulating educational policy. Although the local press covered the Board's plan, the public hearings, and the other public meetings where the plan was discussed in some depth, the papers took a definite negative stand on the plan, as is detailed below.

On the whole, the Board drew support (in some cases, qualified or cautious) from civic, religious, and ethnic-racial organizations. Individual parent groups and unorganized parents (e.g., petition signatories)--except at Peterson--eventually supported the Board's action. The fact that financial, business, and industrial interests in the city did not generally play a substantial role may have been a major factor in the Board's delay. The pressure that was exerted on the Board came almost entirely from protest groups, the state government, and their allies, rather than from individuals considered to be the "elite" of the local community. If the problem had directly and seriously affected the interests of the city's business, industrial, commercial, and financial leaders, then a remedy might have been sought and found at an earlier date.

Although there were, it is assumed, many individuals who for various reasons were opposed to the Board's intent and action in this area, only two groups publicly verbalized their opposition

and only one of these attempted to take action to prevent implementation of the plan. Those openly opposed included the local press (both daily newspapers featured editorials hostile to the Board's plan) and the "Peterson Parents," a well-organized group which emerged with surprising speed. Only the latter group took overt action beyond verbal protest.

The following sample of the opposition by one of the papers is taken from an editorial published on March 18, 1964:

In the first place, this talk of "integrating [Centerline] schools" is utter nonsense. [Centerline] public schools are open to any student, whatever his race, color, or creed.

What is meant is that some schools have a higher percentage of Negro students than others because they are located in Negro neighborhoods.

The effort then is to balance the ratio between black and white pupils to avert what is called de facto segregation.

The theory of the Negro leaders is that when there is a great majority of colored children in a school they are handicapped because they do not have the privilege of associating with white children.

This always annoys me because I do not believe it makes one bit of difference to a child what color anyone is.

It is only the self-conscious adults, black and white, who make a big point of color,--and they are a pretty offensive lot.

The Negro population of [Centerline] has never made any noticeable objection to school conditions here. Their great interest seems to be that of white parents--is the school a good one? can their children safely cross the streets? can they get a good lunch at school? or do they have time to come home?

But they--the Negro parents--are up

against the same thing white parents are,-- the professional bleeding hearts who insist that only by moving school populations around can racial tensions be removed. There is not the slightest shred of evidence that this is true.

* * *

What is the answer to all this?

In my opinion, the schools of [Centerline] are beautifully integrated right now, if what all pupils are seeking is education. Any boy or girl can go to any school in the city system.

The minute pupils are moved around and forced to walk miles every day to please some race-happy handful of do-gooders, who think they are improving education and social relations, we are asking for the kind of trouble that is so regrettable in New York City.

The other local paper, although not as hostile to the Board's efforts to do something about racial balance, definitely took a dim view of the whole approach of ending de facto segregation in the schools through direct Board action. The following editorial, also dated March 18th, illustrates its position:

No community in our State has made a more earnest, more determined effort to solve its school racial imbalance problem than has [Centerline]. Thus far, the planning has been carried out with a minimum of demagoguery and ill-will on all sides.

The first tangible result is the tremendously complicated plan which was presented to the Board of Education yesterday afternoon for re-aligning some districts, omitting [Horace Mann] and [Hayes], two of three schools with the highest percentage of Negro pupils. The senior high school districting awaits establishment of boundary lines between the new [Waters] and the old [Lewis Cass] High School districts.

The plans proposed are so complex that no overall body such as the Board of Education can judge their effects on the children of [Centerline]. Virtually the only testing will be in the execution next September when individual youngsters are assigned to different schools. Until then, the only assessment of the re-alignment can be done by determining how it will affect their own boys and girls.

The intent is good. As a community we are seeking a more democratic and a better integrated system of education. And we are attempting to achieve it with the least disruption of the neighborhood school concept.

State Education Commissioner _____ was as wrong as he could be when he arbitrarily ordered the end of what he termed racial imbalance in all state schools by next September. But in [Centerline] a sensible effort is being made to come as close to that goal as possible without destroying the quality of public education and without creating worse conflicts than existed in the first instance.

We are no more convinced than are CORE and NAACP that the best solution is being reached in [Centerline]. We believe most Negro families want their children to attend the school nearest home, regardless of so-called de facto segregation.

Much more can be accomplished through integrated housing than by an artificial juggling of the school population. But with patience and good will on all sides, [Centerline] may lead the way in this delicate and troubled situation.

In comparing the editorials from the two local papers, one notices that the second is, at least, willing to recognize that a problem exists. To the average layman who acquires most of his information on questions of public policy from local news reports and editorials, the first editorial may confuse rather than clarify the problem. It supports a position that was in vogue in some quarters when the problem first flared up in the spring of

1962. Most individuals in Centerline who were actively seeking to harmonize divergent interests in the community had since recognized that a problem did, indeed, exist. If they could not agree on what to do--and this is an understandable stage of the democratic process of policy formation--at least they realized by March, 1963, that something would have to be done. The second editorial recognizes the complexity of the situation. While not particularly sympathetic to the position taken by the protest groups and while perhaps too generous in its praise of the early attempts to reach a solution, it nevertheless is more realistic than the first editorial.

The second source of organized opposition to the school plan for September, 1964, was the group known as the Peterson Parents. The following is an excerpt from one interview with an observer of the situation:

Interviewer: Well, the [Peterson] Parents were pretty well organized for something like this.

Subject: I would say amazingly so. They had a terrific gal there, organizer. Her capacities . . . oh, she's probably going to . . . be a campaign manager for a Democratic mayoral candidate, for example. Ordinarily, without her, I'd say that group would have probably gone along with the plan pretty well because . . . it's a low socioeconomic group over there. It's not much higher than [Jefferson].

Interviewer: It's Italian over there, isn't it?

Subject: I'd say predominantly, yes, but a lot of low rental homes, houses, in there--and this is a kind of group you can't organize unless you're real clever at it. Yeah! She did a job on it.

The following excerpt from another interview enables us more fully to appreciate views of this group and the efforts that were needed and expended to organize it:

Interviewer: What about the school community, the parents? Was there an atmosphere of knowing that the school would be closed or do you think this was a surprise to them?

Subject: I think again . . . of course at the time the Board made known to the community their total building plan for the city of [Centerline], it was published widely in the paper. It was discussed. It wasn't covered up at all, freely available to anybody interested. But I think several factors affect the feeling of the [Peterson] community as far as this is concerned. One, I think many of them are of the type who perhaps do not follow too closely school events as far as the community is concerned. Some of them probably noticed it, but perhaps just passed it by, more or less. [Peterson] was a very transient section. Therefore, with the constant turnover of parents and students, why some of them might not have been around at the time that this thing was gaining a lot of publicity . . . at this point do you want to go into why I think there was . . . considerable unfavorable reaction to the Board plan on the part of [Peterson] parents?

Interviewer: This is what I'm leading up to, basically.

Subject: This agitation? I think, generally speaking, many of these people, though perhaps they don't admit it publicly or maybe even to themselves, I think many of them have the feeling that they themselves are pretty far down on the socioeconomic ladder, and that this was one of the reasons they had been

chosen as the group to participate in this venture. . . . To some people living in the [Peterson] School district, this gave them a higher status, a higher social status than people living in the [Jefferson] area district, and perhaps this was the only section of the city to which they felt superior.

Interviewer: Whom did the [Peterson] parents see as the villains in this case; i.e., the closing of [Peterson] . . . ?

Subject: Well, the parents, of course, picked as the villains the Board of Education. I think they felt not so much that the Superintendent was the villain, which I thought was rather unusual seeing as how he was new to the system and could very easily have been pointed to as being new and, therefore, obviously the one who wanted to do this. But they seemed to focus their violence upon the Board of Education rather than upon the Superintendent. . . . I think the parents in that section [Peterson] in general do not tend to unite very well on many issues. One of the main problems in a section of that type is to get the people interested in much of anything. It's hard to get a real good parent group organized. Many of them are suspicious of schools in general and school people. Many of them are apathetic as far as what their children are doing in school or what the school is trying to do for them. . . . I don't feel that the total organization for opposition was highly organized. There were four or five main people who did most of the leg work apparently and the telephoning and the petitioning and that sort of thing; but I think by and large

most of the people participated as signers of petitions, as maybe giving vocal support, but as far as actually participating themselves, I don't think it was as much of a total effort.

In the final analysis, the true test of the opposition and its effectiveness is in a comparison of the number of students from Peterson who actually went to Jefferson with the number who went to other schools under the open school policy. Such a comparison clearly indicates that the Peterson parent opposition was organized to the extent that the parents modified the Board's intent by opting for a junior high school other than Jefferson. While they could not force the Board to dismiss the Peterson-Jefferson transfer from its plan, the Peterson parents were able to evade compliance through the open school policy described below, and most of them did so.

Role of the City Government and Political Leaders:

The virtual absence of response or involvement among the political leaders of the community, with the single exception of the Mayor's brief statement, seems worthy of mention. No city or party official participated in the work of the Education Committee, except for the Mayor's role before negotiations began, and there was an almost complete lack of participation by this key segment of the community power structure throughout. So general and apparent was the silence on this burning issue in governmental and political quarters that at least one individual expressed suspicion that there was an "unholy alliance" or "agreement" to "keep silent" on it. The phenomenon was so general that, if one were to consult only the statements of the political leaders, he could hardly appreciate the breadth and depth of the de facto school segregation dispute. The city's Board of Estimate was, however, willing to authorize the expenditures that would be required by the Board of Education's plan.

Two individuals on a relatively low level of the political hierarchy, each a Ward Supervisor directly involved with the daily concerns of his constituents and obviously reflecting their concerns, did express themselves publicly. The Democratic Supervisor of the largely Negro ward charged the Board of Education as well as the city administration with permitting de facto segregation. The Republican Supervisor of the ward in which Peterson School is located charged the Board with "discrimination against the North Side" when it proposed transferring Peterson's students

to Jefferson Junior High. Neither was supported by his party at either the city or county level.

Although the political parties and powers did not participate in the dialogue, the individuals and groups in Centerline who did, cut across traditional party, occupational, and social class lines. Republicans, Democrats, businessmen, educators, laborers, all involved, were arrayed on both sides of the question. In the traditional sense of the phrase, it was a nonpartisan struggle. A partisan flavor was generously provided, however, by "nonpolitical" groups committed to social action or formed temporarily to represent the point of view of an affected or interested segment of the community.

Confrontations with the Public:

The Board of Education and school officials confronted the public directly at formal and informal meetings as well as through individual contacts. Formal contacts included Board meetings and public hearings called by the Board, while informal meetings were called by such groups as school PTA's.

The principals, PTA and Mothers' Club presidents, and others who would be most directly affected by the plan were officially informed of its extent and scope at a meeting held on April 8, 1964, at which key school officials and Education Committee members were present. The primary objective of the meeting was to orient and secure the cooperation of the leadership group since, as the Superintendent stated, "the success or failure of the proposed program will depend on the efforts of everyone." According to one participant's description of the meeting, the Superintendent characterized the plan as "a modest forward step" and expressed his understanding

"that any change brings about concern." He stated that there will be unanswered questions, and there will be some discomfort. He said he felt he could pledge the near unanimous support of the staff of the City School District in the effort to successfully meet this challenge. Parents will have the greatest influence over their children's opinions and feelings, and the way in which they discuss these changes with their children will affect the children's attitudes.

The meeting was far from a "rubber stamp" session. Supporters

and opponents of the plan openly defended and challenged the statements made by the Superintendent, the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Head of the Research Department, and others who spoke on behalf of the plan. Following is an excerpt from the minutes:

One of the speakers indicated that he was the principal of an integrated school where white and Negro youngsters behave in the same manner as youngsters in any school. He stated that he thought that integrating schools [is] one of the ways of teaching brotherhood and that this was an important thing to learn. . . . One of the members of the audience stated that he could not see any logic in the changes. . . . Another person asked whether it is planned in the future to integrate the remaining predominantly white schools by busing children across town. This person was informed that there are no future plans like that and that the Education Committee would not be in agreement with this kind of plan. It is hoped that as children begin to associate with each other in school, they will help to break down some of the prejudices and discrimination of some of their parents. . . . Another person stated that she could not go along with the idea that education would be improved by integrating the schools. She stated that there has already been much publicity to the effect that the [inner city] children . . . are underachievers. . . . Another person asked if the Board were going to request additional funds or would they be taking money from other educational programs. . . .

One observer noted that the meeting (and other public meetings held on the plan) resembled "a Methodist prayer meeting where testimony and witness is given by the individual participants." Apparently, everyone for and against the plan vented his arguments and feelings.

The school system also informed the principals directly involved of how many new students to expect and encouraged them to discuss the plan at faculty meetings and to relay faculty reaction to the Office of the Superintendent. Principals were encouraged to select teachers for special, intensive training in teaching inner city youngsters, and the "integration team" discussed in Section Two

of this report was established in a further effort to provide assistance that might be needed. This appears to be the extent of efforts made to involve, inform, and prepare teachers in relation to the pending changes.

In addition to the official meetings held under the auspices of the school system and the various schools affected, a number of other discussions and meetings were held. For example, the Catholic Neighbor Training Program, sponsored by the Catholic Diocese of Centerline, sought to bring laymen together to listen to and discuss various aspects of the problems of Negroes in the community. This series of meetings began on April 6, 1964, and ended on May 25. Other organizations, such as the National Council of Jewish Women, the Unitarian Church, and various Parent-Teacher Associations and Mothers' Clubs, held meetings to discuss the Board's plan and possible solutions for the future.

Despite these kinds of activities, hostility and resistance were encountered. Fears arising from rumors that white children would be bused into all-Negro schools and rumors of radical departures from the neighborhood school concept persisted. Preparation of students for the anticipated changes was left almost entirely to their parents.

The first public hearing on reactions to the proposed plan was held on April 10, 1964, approximately 25 days after the plan was announced in the press. More than 200 persons, including most of the Peterson Parents who had organized to oppose the plan, attended the April 10th meeting. According to a news account,

. . . [the hearing] was less explosive than many school officials had feared. . . . A petition was presented to the Board. . . . The petition stated that its 400 signers "do not object to integration" but protest the hazards and hardship involved in walking the up to two mile distance to Jefferson. . . . Ward Supervisor . . . said he felt the transfer was another instance of discrimination against the North Side Area.

This hearing had been expected to be the most difficult and dangerous. Peterson had an incomplete junior high school program, and both parents and faculty knew that eventually the junior high school section would be closed. They were surprised, however, that Peterson was included in the plan which even many Peterson parents and faculty members viewed as "an integration plan." According to another news report of the hearing on the Peterson-Jefferson transfer, only four parents out of at least 200 public-

ly supported the Board's plan. It seems indicative of the temper of the times that the petition submitted by the group of Peterson parents avoided citing racial factors as a reason for their opposition to the move. Factors mentioned were distance, hazard-zone considerations, financial hardship, and the "mixing of higher achievers with lower achievers." At the hearing, parents charged that the Board and staff were "gambling or experimenting with the children at Peterson"--a charge quickly denied by the Superintendent. The Superintendent further stated that he believed that the Peterson children would gain more from the move than the Jefferson children.

It was also at this hearing that the Board indicated that the open school policy would be in effect, thus helping to appease some parents who strongly opposed the anticipated transfer to Jefferson. This statement was in keeping with the Board's constant desire not to force any decision on individual parents. This appeasement, however, led to the failure of the Peterson-Jefferson transfer and caused the racial imbalance problem at Jefferson to persist after September, 1964.

A public meeting sponsored by the Tyler PTA was held at Tyler Elementary School on May 1 to examine another major planned transfer of students. This transfer was to involve sending between 50 and 80 children from Hayes Elementary School, which was estimated to have a pupil population about two thirds nonwhite, to Tyler. Tyler's nonwhite population before the transfer was 1.7 per cent. This transfer would include busing the newcomers to Tyler.

Many charges, mostly based on rumors that had circulated through the Tyler district, were leveled at the school officials during this meeting. One press report described the meeting as follows:

No exchange of pupils between [Tyler] and [Hayes] Schools is contemplated by the [Centerline] Board of Education, the Superintendent declared last night. . . . The Superintendent took on all comers at a public meeting . . . last night, attempting to answer all questions regarding the proposed transfer of pupils from [Hayes] next September. . . .

Apparently some [Tyler] parents have feared the arrival of [Hayes] pupils was only the

beginning of a more complicated plan which could send pupils out of their home school to [Hayes]. "This has not been considered," the Superintendent declared, laying to rest one of the many rumors that have circulated in the [Tyler] area since the [Hayes] move was first mentioned. The school's head also disclosed at last night's meeting . . . that only 58 pupils--not 80 as had first been estimated--would be involved. . . .

One of the largest meetings in recent weeks called to consider problems connected with the schools, it also was one of the most orderly. Audience reaction to the Superintendent's statements indicate general support of the School Board's plan. . . .

It was evident at this meeting that rumors as to the intentions of the Board had played a significant role in determining parental reaction prior to clarification from the Board.

It was a surprise to many individuals close to the problem of racial imbalance in Centerline that opposition to the Board's action arose in the Tyler district. This district is perhaps the most enlightened in the system, for it comprises a large part of a university area which is a stronghold of liberalism and progressivism. Tyler was the site of a public hearing held on May 6, 1964, which demonstrated the depth of this opposition. The following is from a newspaper account of this hearing:

"Tonight I have seen the face of hate and prejudice hidden behind a mask of rationalizations," a Negro parent declared at last night's public hearing by the Board of Education on the proposed transfer of 56 children from [Hayes] to [Tyler] School. . . . The time has come to move away from the stereotype of the Negro as ugly and dirty, she said, and called on transfer opponents to drop their pretenses about the children under discussion. . . .

Heavy applause followed her remarks. A short time later, however, the same audience of 200 or more gathered in the [Tyler] auditorium applauded just as loudly, a speaker who demanded that the School Board define the problem of overcrowding, or racial balance, and deal with it honestly. . . .

"I don't mind these children coming here, if it is necessary," this [Tyler] parent asserted. "But I don't want to be hoodwinked. I don't want to be sold a pig in a poke." . . .

The Research Head, in recommending the move, said [Tyler] was selected because the school has several empty classrooms and is in an adjacent school district. . . .

Discussing the matter at length at a meeting on May 1, 1964, the Superintendent said that racial balance is among the factors involved. . . .

Otherwise, he indicated, the overcrowding would be relieved by sending the children to nearby [Horace Mann] School. . . .

[A Board Member] said last night, in the Superintendent's absence early in the meeting, that it is the Superintendent's feeling the question of racial balance won't be solved any time soon in [Centerline], but in the meantime nothing should be done to make the situation worse. . . .

[This Board Member], who has personally rejected quotas and other arbitrary solutions to the problem of racial imbalance, said that at no time has the Board felt it is under any legal compulsion to correct racial imbalance, but does assume it has the authority to assign pupils. . . .

"Racial balance in this particular case is only incidental," he said. . . .

Both [Hayes] and [Horace Mann] Schools have predominantly Negro enrollments, but the transfer from [Hayes] presumably would not affect the present ratio at that school because incoming pupils also would be predominantly Negro. . . . "

It was perhaps because of this adverse reaction, typified by the second parent's statements in the press report above, that a number of Tyler parents got together and drafted a petition which supported the Board's action and welcomed the potential transfer students from Hayes. This petition received over 200 endorsements. However, the initial reaction from some parents in the Tyler dis-

strict had revealed that this supposed stronghold of liberalism was not impregnable.

Whereas the parents at Peterson, who would have to send their children to another school, threatened the Board with a lawsuit, the overt opposition of the Tyler parents dissipated after a short time. Once they were assured that their children would not have to be bused to another school, most of them readily accepted the children from Hayes and did their utmost to facilitate the transfer.

The Official Decision:

Was the Board's final decision--the official vote cast at the May Regular Meeting--influenced by the hearings it conducted? It seems clear that the Board had indicated to the Superintendent that it would approve the plan. In the spring of 1962, the Board had made a similar advance, unofficial commitment to approve the Parker changes but had reversed its position in the face of public opposition. In March, 1964, however, it seems that the Board was too deeply committed to too many groups and organizations to back down because of public reaction. The Board and its key staff had assumed leadership in this matter and had stressed the need for a united front. Thus, the Board had, in a sense, "burned its bridges." The Board had to go through with its plan, although the open school policy did allow some parents to avoid having their children integrated and the opposition in general was less than some had expected.

At its Regular Meeting on May 12, 1964, the Board voted unanimously to approve the plan. In commenting on the decision, the Board President said that the measures included did not mean an abandonment of the neighborhood school policy. A newly elected Board member stated that his affirmative vote

should not be misconstrued as an invitation for immoderate or extreme proposals in the future. It is my basic belief that we must be especially careful to protect the rights of the majority as well as the minority. I will not hesitate to cast my negative vote in the future against any measure which will reduce the effectiveness of the neighborhood school concept or promote discord within the community.

Another Board member replied that "the rights of the majority can be protected only if the very least right of the minority is protected." In any case, almost two years after its first direct

challenge on the issue, the Board had established the precedent of openly considering racial balance in the assignment of pupils to the city's schools.

The Opposition Seeks Judicial Redress

The initiation and conclusion of legal action against the Board of Education by a group of parents in the Peterson area occurred after the Board had officially decided to adopt the plan. A group of Peterson parents hired a lawyer and filed suit in the State Supreme Court on May 21, 1964. In their petition before the Court, the parents argued that the transfer destroyed neighborhood schools and violated a provision of the state education law forbidding racial discrimination in public schools. Their lawyer argued that the junior high school division of Peterson was able to educate its pupils and that the Board's action in closing it was "arbitrary and capricious." While the parents argued that the Board's plan to improve racial balance at Jefferson violated the Federal and State Constitutions as well as the education law, the Board defended its action on the ground that the closing of the Peterson Junior High and the subsequent transfers were "educationally sound."

On August 19, 1964, a State Supreme Court Judge turned down the request of the parents to void the Board's closing of Peterson's junior high school division. He stated that the sole purpose of the Board's order was not to end racial imbalance and that, even if it were, "the Court would still be of the opinion that, at this time, it has no power to hold that said action would be arbitrary and capricious or a constitutional violation." The Judge noted that "the Board concedes that racial imbalance was one of the factors which played a part in arriving at its decision but not the sole or controlling reason. The Court can find no reason for not accepting the Board's argument in this regard, that is, that racial imbalance was only one of the numerous factors, as set forth." The Peterson Parents' opposition to the Board's plan on legal grounds thus met with defeat.

VI. Student Migrations:

The point has been made in the Introduction to this report that the actual numbers of students involved in the transfers varied depending on when the counts were made. In many cases, this was due to factors which affect most school populations during the school year: families move away from and into various districts, students drop out of school, are excluded, or enter the public schools after having attended private schools, and the like. The advance estimates made by the Research Department were only estimates and, except in the case of the Hayes-Tyler transfer, were subject to all of the vicissitudes of population movement during the seven months from February to September, 1964, and during the subsequent school year.

In the present situation, there were other causes for numerical instability as well. Many of the Peterson families, using a variety of methods, avoided sending their children to Jefferson. Some of the children newly assigned to Dexter and Tyler returned to Jefferson and Hayes, respectively, either at their own request or on the basis of staff recommendations. Some of the children were not classifiable reliably as transfers or new residents. These included a few particularly transient youngsters as well as new residents in areas that had been subject to redistricting. An attempt was made to determine how they were categorized in the school setting; when this could not be done, known cases of this type were omitted from consideration. There were other unusual situations as well. The numbers of new enrollees presented in Table 2.1 are, therefore, approximations, but they reflect as closely as possible the numbers of reassigned pupils who both enrolled in school according to the Board's plan and remained in their new schools through at least the first few weeks of school.

As is indicated in Table 2.1, fewer than half of the projected transfers actually took place. Less than one fifth of the Peterson group actually went to Jefferson, the predominantly Negro school, and over a third of these were Negro. The Hayes-Tyler transfer, the only part of the plan that involved busing, was implemented virtually intact. These contrasting situations are reviewed in greater detail below. The other two segments of the plan, those involving Dexter and Gilbert Schools, were implemented with somewhat smaller numbers of newcomers than had been anticipated. Apparently, this was due in part to the difficulties inherent in attempting to estimate the numbers of children who would be living in a given area several months hence.

Table 2.1

The Board's Plan and Actual Student Transfers, 1964-65

Schools Involved	Numbers of Students Affected			
	Advance Estimate	Actual Total	White	Nonwhite
Longden to Gilbert	115	92	26	66
Hayes to Tyler	60	58	7	51
Jefferson to Dexter	75	31	1	30
Peterson to Jefferson	<u>221</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>15</u>
Totals	456	224	62	162

Note.--The actual numbers of students involved fluctuated during the school year. These figures were compiled around October 1, 1964.

In sum, only about 3 per cent of the approximately 2500 students in the city's three overwhelmingly Negro schools were effectively desegregated in the fall of 1964. Had the projected plan been implemented fully, the figure would have been about 15 per cent including the Negro students who, while remaining at Jefferson, would have become a minority of its total student body.

About 30 students from the designated segment of the old Jefferson district, instead of the projected 75, attended Dexter in September, 1964. Because of this and due to changing residential patterns, the nonwhite percentage at Dexter actually decreased slightly instead of doubling to about 15 per cent as had been anticipated. It appears that the apparent deficit in Negro transfers was due only in part, if at all, to miscalculation by the Research Department. Many of the students who were scheduled to attend Dexter seem to have remained at or soon returned to Jefferson, apparently with the encouragement of the Jefferson principal, who saw the enrollment declining at his school and feared that it would be closed.¹ There was, evidently, no follow-up from the central office, since students seem to have been able to make such virtual self-assignments to (and from) Jefferson almost at will.

The point has already been made that the transfers to Gilbert were not predominantly related to racial balance and would probably have taken place (due to the closing of Longden School) in any event. Including these transfers in the formal desegregation program did appear to give it more substance, and Gilbert was included in the research because it provided another case where a significant number of Negro pupils entered a predominantly white school. While the Research Department overestimated the numbers of children of both races who would be involved at Gilbert, there is no evidence that the discrepancy reflected anything other than a relatively unimportant error in approximation. The proportion of whites to nonwhites was about as had been predicted, and the change seems to have been accomplished with hardly a ripple in the life of the school. Interestingly, as is reflected in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, Gilbert experienced a larger influx of minority group children in terms both of numbers and percentages than did any of the other schools, yet it apparently experienced the least up-

¹The school was, in fact, closed the following year, and its principal has since left the city.

Table 2.2

Estimated and Actual Percentages of Nonwhite Students

School	1963-64 Nonwhite Population	Estimated Nonwhite Population, 1964-65	Actual Nonwhite Population, 1964-65*
Gilbert	5%	12	20
Tyler	1.5	7	7
Dexter	7	15	6
Jefferson	78	45	80

*Exact figures fluctuated during the year; these were the percentages as of June, 1965.

heaval.¹

The Hayes-Tyler and Peterson-Jefferson transfers had attracted greater public attention than either of the other proposals,² and their implementation presented an almost diametric contrast. From the standpoint of improving racial balance, the (admittedly limited) Hayes-Tyler transfer was a success, while the Peterson-Jefferson part of the plan was virtually a complete failure. After the early protests had been aired, the Tyler parents who favored the plan made many efforts to assist the school in accepting and integrating the newcomers. Volunteers among the Tyler parents helped the staff of the Board of Education with the job of canvassing Hayes parents to secure permission, since no children were to be bused from Hayes without parental consent. Later, many of the parents made special arrangements to include the newcomers in their children's birthday parties and the like. Some active members of the Tyler parent group continued to oppose the transfer in principle, but they seem to have accepted it at least to the point of not having interfered directly in any way.

The Peterson parents found themselves in a position that was in almost no sense analogous to that of the parents at Tyler. As we have seen, they were situated on one of the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder, perhaps above only the Negroes living in the Jefferson district. Most of the Tyler parents, on the other hand, were clearly members of the middle class. The Peterson-Jefferson proposal involved early adolescents, youngsters at or approaching dating age, while the Hayes-Tyler transfer involved children in the primary grades. The Peterson parents were being asked not only to accept the inconvenience of sending their children to a school further from home, which most had anticipated in any case, but also to accept a school reputed to have the lowest academic rating of any in the city and located in an area reputed to have the highest crime rate. Tyler parents were asked merely to accept

¹The increase in the percentage of nonwhites at Gilbert beyond the expected increase despite the fewer than expected Negro transfers resulted from changing residential patterns in the area and the relocation of partially-sighted and hearing handicapped children to other schools.

²It should be noted that this case study is concerned with sociopolitical rather than academic or other factors; the latter are considered in other sections of the report.

about sixty lower class Negro newcomers who were to be scattered among fifteen classrooms. In the last analysis, the Peterson parents said, "No." It seems plausible that many of the Tyler parents, had they been faced with the same kind of proposal, would have responded similarly.

When the protests and lawsuit failed, the Peterson parents used other "escape mechanisms"; fewer than 15 per cent of the white Peterson children scheduled to go to Jefferson in the fall of 1964 actually went. Parents of Peterson children ignored invitations extended by the Jefferson parents to get acquainted in various ways. Those Peterson students who did go to Jefferson appear to have been from the lowest social stratum of the Peterson district--presumably, their families were unwilling or unable to make the kinds of efforts that the overwhelming majority of their neighbors did. Some of the Peterson youngsters were enrolled in parochial schools, and it is presumed that some dropped out of school and that the families of some others moved out of the affected district. By far the greatest number, however, took advantage of the Board of Education's "open school" policy, through which 115 enrolled at Bailey Junior High and smaller numbers at other public junior high schools in the city.

The open school policy of the Board of Education had been instituted around 1960 as a means of promoting optimal pupil distribution while allowing parents a voice in selecting their children's schools. An "open school" is one that happens to have lower than standard pupil-teacher ratios in particular grades and, thus, is available for additional pupils. Open schools are designated officially by the Board of Education based on information supplied by the Research Department. An official described the policy in 1962 as follows:

The open school policy, which is in its second year, was set up to give an opportunity to parents to transfer their children to another school. . . . Anyone may apply for a transfer out of the district school without having to state a reason for the request. The request has been made normally by the end of the school term in June. Applications are then sorted according to grade and school. Around the first of October, school registration is settled, and then it is determined which schools are below the present teacher-pupil ratio. These will then be declared open schools, and the request for transfer to these schools will be honored if

the grade or class the pupil wants is also open. The parent is then notified of this and given a transfer permit. This permit takes priority for succeeding years unless the school becomes overcrowded.

As its May 12, 1964, meeting--the same meeting at which the student reassignment plan was officially adopted--the Board approved the open school policy for 1964-65. This seems to have been inevitable, since many Board members had repeatedly stated that they did not want to "force" citizens of Centerline to conform to the plan. However, the ready availability of the open school policy was probably instrumental in crippling the Board's attempt to improve racial balance at Jefferson by transferring Peterson students there. One person who had been involved in the situation commented:

We dropped the ball in the two ways . . . no, just one way, actually, having that school so open [he is referring to a junior high close to the Peterson district]. The outlet for 150 kids and they could only need to open it, say, for 50 or 60. Another thing that defeated [the Peterson-Jefferson transfer] was the extremely animated position taken by two or three of the leaders in the [Peterson] area . . . soliciting requests to transfer, going from door to door and saying "transfer your kids up to [Bailey] School, transfer your kids up to [Bailey] School, don't let them go to [Jefferson], you'll ruin us all, you know, ruin our position if you don't."

Another observer had this to say:

On the other hand, my personal opinion was that once they open the doors as far as the open school was concerned, I felt they were defeating the purpose, probably, whatever it was, which initiated this plan. To me, it was perfectly evident that a great number of people were going to avoid this issue by a variety of measures. Number one, . . . those who were economically better off were going to remove themselves from the situation by moving away from the section. Number two, those who perhaps were economically better off but who were of the Catholic faith and who did not want to move away would avail

themselves of enrolling their children in the parochial school. . . . Number three, people who could not remove themselves economically from the situation or who were not of the Catholic faith or their children were of the type that the Catholic school perhaps did not want to accept, their solution then was to avail themselves of the open school policy, and to me I felt the percentage of people who would do this would be high and, as it turned out, too, it was high. Therefore, it's my feeling that those children who actually are going to end up at [Jefferson] are going to be those really about whom very little interest is shown on the part of the parents. They're the kind whose parents really don't particularly care what they're doing in school or what school they're attending or even if they happen to be in attendance at school on a particular day or not. So to me the open school policy really defeated the purpose of the plan regardless of what the main purpose was.

Many similar observations have been made, ex post facto, on the open school policy in relation to the Board's first plan. One can only speculate that the Peterson-Jefferson transfer might have been more successful if the open school policy had not been approved for the 1964-65 school year, or at least if there had been fewer openings. Some parents would, undoubtedly, have found other alternatives in their effort to skirt the plan, but it is hard to say whether a firmer stance on the part of the Board would have led to true integration at Jefferson or more strenuous and, perhaps, damaging resistance. The protest groups were among those who felt that the availability of the open school option undermined the plan.

It is hard to say whether the architects of school policy miscalculated the extent to which the open schools would be used by the Peterson parents, or consciously provided them as a "safety valve" in an attempt to drain off the strongest opposition, or were genuinely attempting to "sabotage" the plan itself. The latter two possible explanations seem to gain credence from the fact that "open school" applications were apparently processed with unusual haste; the normal wait until October did not apply, as the students involved started the year at their new schools other than Jefferson. The experience of other communities suggests that a united front maintained by community leaders usually

results in general acceptance of the proposed change, but it seems clear that Centerline officialdom was unwilling or insufficiently united to utilize this approach.

It is ironic that one of the purposes of the open school policy, at least after 1962, seems to have been to permit Negro parents to send their children to predominantly white schools outside predominantly Negro neighborhoods. In the Peterson situation, however, the policy served to facilitate rather than to retard racial imbalance. To the parents involved, as to the Negro parents who had used it previously, it was simply a means of escaping what they saw as an undesirable situation. The implications are far different, however, for those concerned with racial imbalance as an educational, an ethical, and a political problem. On this level, the question of the wisdom and fairness of selecting Peterson Junior High to be a primary focus of the first plan must be considered.

Planned desegregation of existing school facilities may include the transfer of white students to predominantly nonwhite schools, the transfer of nonwhite students to predominantly white schools, or both. The Board's first plan attempted, on a limited scale, to include both. The Peterson-Jefferson transfer was the only part of the proposal that established a predominantly Negro school as a "receiving" school, and its failure may have influenced the planning of responsible officials for the future even though it may have failed for other reasons. What is clear is that Jefferson was at least as imbalanced racially in 1964-65 as it had been in 1963-64.

In summary, the plan's most important characteristic was probably that it established racial balance as a desirable goal and a criterion for establishing district boundaries and assigning students in the school system. It was the first concrete step toward the implementation of the Board's policy statement of July, 1963, on racial imbalance. It did not, however, establish racial balance as the primary criterion for assignment of students to their schools; each of the four changes that were included were largely justifiable on other bases. Despite this, it seems apparent that the plan would not have been adopted, at least not in its actual form, except to promote racial balance in the Centerline Public Schools.

The plan also provided a test of public reaction, although this may not have been a conscious motive of those involved. The Board presented the community with a specific plan for action in the area of school desegregation. It was limited action but, nevertheless, it was action and its direction was clear. The pub-

lic's reaction was, in general, neither as negative as many had expected nor as positive as some had hoped, although those directly involved did react vigorously.

Almost everyone involved agreed that the plan was a limited one, a first step, although it seems that few expected the resulting transfers to be so limited. One individual commented on the plan and its relative ineffectiveness as follows:

. . . yeah, [the Board and staff] dropped the ball on that . . . it didn't achieve what we wanted it to in getting [Jefferson] below 50 per cent Negro. . . . If the thing had gone through the way it was originally set up [but it didn't because] . . . the open school policy leaked it all the way. . . . [We] should have anticipated that, you know. . . .

The plan actually did little to affect racial balance in the schools directly. The pattern of racial imbalance at Hayes was unchanged, and Horace Mann was not involved in the plan at all. Jefferson Junior High actually lost a few white youngsters, on balance, rather than gaining a substantial number as planned. Tyler's nonwhite population rose from 1.5 to 7 per cent as a result of the transfer from Hayes. Gilbert's nonwhite population rose from 5 to 20 per cent, but racial balance was really incidental in this situation since none of the Negro newcomers had come from a predominantly Negro school--although the school they did come from, Longden, had had relatively more Negroes. Dexter received fewer transferred Negroes than had been expected and, due to changing residential patterns, its percentage of nonwhite students actually dropped slightly, from seven to six. It had been projected at 15 per cent nonwhite. For various reasons, some coincidental and some probably unknown, the plan as implemented approximated advance projections more closely in the two elementary schools than in either junior high.

Despite these faltering first steps, it would be unfair to characterize the effort as a failure. On the contrary, it was a first step toward meeting a problem that has existed in Centerline --as elsewhere--since the great northward, urban migration of Negroes began. Ultimate success or failure depends on how creatively and effectively the community is able to utilize the experience gained in this first attempt.

VII. Epilogue:

The case study was planned to deal with the sociopolitical processes that culminated in the "student migrations" that occurred in the fall of 1964, but life continued in Centerline. The forces and interactions that are recorded above did not stop. There was growing awareness of both the problem and the promise, more understanding and new acceptance of the need for action to ease de facto segregation, and new resistance as well. As the community reached toward more adequate education and a better life for its relatively disadvantaged citizens, new conflict developed with those who did not want to share the responsibility or the cost, particularly in the social coin of the realm.

As the research team sorted and organized its accumulated data and thereafter proceeded to extract its meaning, it could not help noting in the passage of time the continued development and broadening of the struggle. The first simple steps had involved a relatively small part of the community, only a few schools and a few students. Even the protesters were relatively limited in number.

Now many more were involved, complicating the process, bringing in new personalities, new fears and feelings, new reactions to what had been done, new questions about the proposed extension of the old programs. Thinking and emotion seemed to sharpen. Solutions that had been accepted earlier, sometimes reluctantly, were forcefully rejected now. The experience of dealing with the problem educated all who were involved in the process. Parents of the nonwhite pupils, feeling they had the largest personal stake in the matter and having tasted some degree of success after long and bitter experience with social and political defeat, mounted new and stronger efforts to achieve their goals.

Limited resources, particularly time, did not permit the extension of the case study in the same depth that is reflected above. Nevertheless, it seemed imperative that some attempt be made to record as much of the "sequel" as possible, both for its own importance and for the additional light it could, perhaps, shed on the impact of the first year. The absence of longitudinal data too often limits the usefulness of research efforts, and follow-up efforts seemed particularly important in this case because of the tentative climate that marked the first year's program. This epilogue, then, is a summary of relevant events that occurred in the two years following September, 1964, and is presented in an attempt to enhance the value of the total record.

Centerline's Board of Education had moved from a position of nonrecognition of de facto segregation in its schools in May of

1962 to agreement in July of 1963 that a problem did indeed exist and, finally, to a limited first attempt to correct the situation in September of 1964. Parts of this first attempt succeeded, but the projected transfer of a large number of white students to a predominantly Negro school did not, probably largely because the open school policy left an easy escape hatch wide open. The Board had opposed the idea of closing any of the three predominantly Negro schools as a step toward integration. The protest groups, prodding the School Board to recognize and deal with the problem, had maintained a generally consistent position through most of this period. At times, both the NAACP and CORE were receptive to the idea of closing predominantly Negro schools. CORE, however, was to reverse its stand. The protesters continued to press for action toward the goal of school integration.

The Education Committee, established essentially as a mediating and advisory body and representative of the Board of Education, the protesting groups, the State Commission for Human Rights, and the Centerline community, had served well. It was the Education Committee that had examined the school setting, had established the existence of de facto segregation there, had exerted added pressure on the Board to act, and had recommended a course of action. It had considered the Board's first plan, endorsed it, and tried to help interpret it to the public.

Although the Education Committee had recommended steps that should be taken to improve racial imbalance in the city's three overwhelmingly Negro schools--Jefferson Junior High, Hayes, and Horace Mann--most members realized that, for various reasons, the Board could not or would not take on the whole job in September, 1964. Even the civil rights groups recognized this and accepted the lesser package just discussed. An attempt was, in fact, made to desegregate Jefferson; as has been described, it was unsuccessful.

Thus, persons who definitely wanted changes to be made and those who merely wished to avoid public conflict had agreed to tackle the easier parts of the problem first--that is, the senior and junior high school levels. The greater task--that of significantly improving racial balance in the elementary schools--was to be undertaken in September, 1965. Discussion and debate over such a plan continued from September, 1964, to May, 1965. Hence, 1965 was to be the year that would see major steps forward in school desegregation at the elementary level.

The situation in the elementary schools in 1964-65 was essentially as follows. The student population at Horace Mann, with

the highest nonwhite percentage in the school system, had been dwindling during the past few years due to a southward displacement of the ghetto toward Hayes. A new U. S. highway under construction through the city would eliminate a great deal more housing in the Mann district. In addition, urban renewal plans included high-rise, middle-income housing for the same area. On the other hand, the student population and the nonwhite percentage at Hayes, the second most racially imbalanced elementary school, were rising. The reassignment of Hayes pupils to Tyler was a temporary measure to relieve overcrowding at Hayes but would not solve the problem. At the junior high school level, Jefferson remained racially imbalanced with a nonwhite student population of about 80 per cent.

The possibilities for action available to the Board were limited for a number of reasons. Substantial investments had recently been made at both Hayes and Jefferson for capital construction and enrichment programs. Horace Mann, while it was an older building, was also part of the city's educational enrichment program, the Jefferson Project. The closing of Mann would not greatly burden other schools in the area, although there would be transportation costs unless Mann students were sent to Hayes. But this would rule out any improvement in racial balance at Hayes; moreover, Hayes was already filled to capacity.

Hayes presented another problem. Because much of its physical plant was almost new, its closing would surely incur the wrath of economy-minded citizens, who would consider the school to have been a wasted investment. It was also a large school, and its student body could not easily be absorbed elsewhere. But the only other solution to Hayes' problem of racial imbalance would be to transfer white students from another district to Hayes. With the Peterson experience fresh in their minds, Board members and their advisors would have to weigh these alternatives carefully. Either solution, the closing of Hayes or the assigning of white students there, would invite strong, negative public reaction.

As to Jefferson, its closing would arouse some public reaction, but this probably would not be very intense. The transfer of white students to Jefferson had failed the previous year. The abandonment or restriction of the open school policy along with the reassignment of many white children to Jefferson would, perhaps, provoke even greater opposition in view of the publicity the open school policy had received.

Fall, 1964--Preparation for Next Steps:

The atmosphere during the fall of 1964 can perhaps best be described as one of anxiety, uncertainty, "watchful waiting."

Teachers, parents, and students had been assured that the transfers would help to improve education in the community as a whole, but many persons were apprehensive that "something might happen." Concern was not limited to the plan alone, but also centered around possible subsequent measures which the Board and the school administration might take. The school principals were outwardly confident that no trouble would occur, but they were also prepared in case trouble did come. There were individuals who viewed the situation as the "beginning of the end" of neighborhood schools, and some went so far as to claim that the Superintendent was an agent of the State Commissioner of Education and intent on destroying Centerline's public school system. Some political conservatives indulged in name-calling, labeling those who even moderately supported the Board's action as "bleeding hearts" and "do-gooders." Some individuals insisted that the Board's action was part of a plot to inhibit social progress. Most persons, however, silently waited for developments.

Nothing of major significance occurred to jeopardize the assimilation of new students in the schools affected by the Board's plan. Some students did return to their original neighborhood schools later in the year, but these were exceptional cases and not part of a general pattern. By early winter, those closest to the situation considered the first Board plan to be a successful experiment insofar as it had been implemented. This alleviated some of the anxiety among parents, teachers and administrators, but uncertainty remained concerning plans for September, 1965, and beyond.

The Education Committee had not met during the summer of 1964. It had supported the Board's position in the spring of 1964 and had contributed to the successful presentation of the Board's plan. In early autumn, the Committee's membership was modified. New members from the Board, the civil rights groups, and the citizens-at-large category were appointed to replace persons who had resigned and to enlarge the number of community interests represented. The major tasks remained the same--to help and to prod the Board and its staff to take further action in the area of school integration. From October to December, however, the Committee concerned itself with educating new members, examining additional data, and discussing alternative integration plans.¹

¹When questioned about the problems presented by new members, one Committee member stated, "New members, I believe, do slow us down. These people have to be educated. This is good, though. The more people involved in this problem, the more chance for success."

Another series of events occurring during this period which was ultimately to affect the problem of de facto school segregation in the community involved the parents of the two most racially imbalanced schools in the system. From October through at least December, a group of parents of Jefferson and Horace Mann students held a series of closed meetings. The original purpose of these meetings was to give parents the opportunity to express their feelings about certain members of the faculties of both schools. Considerable tension had developed over the years between these faculty members and individual students. The resulting tension had manifested itself in periodic outbursts by both teachers and students which interfered with the educational process and led to charges of discrimination.¹

The parents, of course, were concerned. Such concern, while not unusual, probably leads to parental response more frequently in middle class areas than in lower class ones. In this case, however, the parents worked to do something about the conditions to which they objected in their neighborhood schools. And, what is more unusual, these parents did do something. After several preliminary meetings, they invited the Superintendent to attend a series of three meetings to discuss the problem with them. The Superintendent accepted, and one result was the development of a grass-roots organization among Negro parents that was independent of the local NAACP or CORE.

To the community, the Board, and the school staff, this meant that the Negro parents involved were not satisfied with existing conditions in their children's schools and were no longer content to sit by passively while citizens outside their neighborhood fought their battles. The parents subsequently broadened their organization, lodged further complaints directly with the Superintendent, and eventually expressed their opposition to the Board's plan to close Jefferson and Horace Mann at the public hearing held on the plan for September, 1965. This parental activity tended to invalidate the previously often-repeated argument that Negro parents in Centerline were satisfied with existing educational programs. Thus, their group became yet another "interest" that the Board would have to consider in formulating its plans for September, 1965.

¹These "outbursts," it was reported, included "inflammatory" verbal exchanges as well as "physical violence" between certain teachers and students.

At the end of 1964, plans for action on school desegregation were still in the preliminary discussion stage. The problem schools, from the viewpoint of racial imbalance, were Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann and Hayes Elementary Schools. Pressure on the Board either to close these schools or to upgrade them to make them "more attractive to middle class families" was now coming from yet another source--individuals involved in urban renewal.

The effect of urban renewal on this part of the city had been examined by the Education Committee as early as the winter of 1962. At that time, some people had expressed the view that middle class families might be enticed to move into the Horace Mann school district if new, good quality housing was built on the sites of former slum dwellings.¹ This thinking, along with the demands for action by the protesting groups and the Education Committee, were the major sources of outside pressure with which the Board had to contend.

The Board itself, as well as the professional staff, were at least tentatively committed to a program of continued progress toward school desegregation. The results of the September, 1964, limited redistricting and busing plan convinced some people that such action was feasible. The major "selling point" that many advocates of school integration used was not the philosophic-moral argument but the "pragmatic" argument, namely, that school integration stimulated motivation to learn among lower class Negro youngsters. The acceptance of such an argument is illustrated in the following editorial, which appeared later in a local newspaper:

The proposition under consideration by the Board of Education to close [Jefferson] and [Mann] schools and to bus their 1,000 pupils to 18 other [Center-line] schools is going to be hotly debated.

If School Superintendent Dr. _____ is recommending this step to correct what is called, "racial imbalance," and for that reason mainly, there are many solid arguments against it.

¹Public notice of the urban renewal factor was given on February 7, 1965, at a Board meeting. Two officials connected with the urban renewal program told the Board that " . . . the Board of Education must do something to upgrade predominantly Negro [Jefferson] and [Horace Mann] Schools if residential development plans for their areas are to succeed."

If the recommendation is being made for educational reasons--contending that a certain amount of mixing of races in classes causes Negro students to try harder and to improve faster--there is data to back it up. Of the group of 58 moved to John Tyler school the past year, more than half of those students showed marked improvement in their work. So from the standpoint of Negro students learning faster, the slight mixing process did perform a desirable result . . .

The same thing that is true of schools so far as Negroes are concerned has been true in the integration of the armed forces. Fighting side by side with white troops, their performances have been much better.

Rumors in the various school communities continued to circulate unabated until the Board announced its official position. In the Tyler community, the rumor persisted that Tyler children would be transferred to Hayes. In other school communities, such as Jefferson and its feeder district, Mann, rumors that both schools would be closed circulated along with rumors that a modified "Princeton Plan" would be adopted.¹ Thus, by the beginning of December, the community was actively anticipating the Board's next move.

The Education Committee considered several possible plans for school integration for the fall of 1965. Members of CORE were also formulating their own proposals. The plans of these groups were similar in many ways and distinctly different from the plan which the Board subsequently adopted. All concerned were faced with similar alternatives: assigning both white and nonwhite pupils to schools where the other race predominated; assigning inner city pupils to predominantly white schools elsewhere in the city; or doing nothing about school desegregation in the fall of 1965. Few considered the last alternative seriously, since by this time most people recognized that it would meet strong, perhaps violent, resistance.

Although CORE was dedicated to school integration, another of

¹For example, pairing two elementary schools where different races predominate so that one serves the primary grades and the other, grades four through six. Thus, both achieve improved racial balance.

its major goals was individual equality. Thus, the idea of closing Negro schools and busing Negro students without a comparable "sacrifice" on the part of white children offended its basic moral and philosophical principles. In 1965, this led CORE to resist the proposal that Jefferson and Horace Mann Schools be closed. The Education Committee also felt a strong commitment to the cause of individual equality, although not to the same degree as CORE. The Board of Education, on the other hand, did not share all the moral and philosophical principles of CORE or the Education Committee. Furthermore, the Board would have to bear the brunt of public opposition to any plan that would involve busing children to predominantly Negro, inner city schools.

Movement Toward New Plans:

Debate and discussion during the winter of 1964 and early spring of 1965, therefore, centered around how to achieve school integration and foster equality at the same time--the goal of CORE and, to some extent, of the Education Committee--with minimal public opposition--a primary consideration of the Board. Furthermore, 1965 was to be the year of "action" on the school integration front. In its first plan and in statements made in 1964, the Board had made clear to the protesting groups and others that it was committed to school integration and would seek to improve racial balance in the school system.

According to some sources, the Education Committee (or at least some of its members) had realized as early as June, 1963, that the problem of de facto school segregation would not be solved unless the Board was willing to bus children, that "modification of school boundaries alone would be inadequate to solve the problem." Subsequent recommendations concerning desegregation seem to have been made in this context. Apparently because of the inconvenience and expense involved, the Committee wished to provide a plan which would minimize the amount of travel required while still achieving school desegregation. In addition, there was the "equality" objective mentioned above. For these reasons, according to its Chairman, the Education Committee preferred the modified Princeton Plan it had developed as an alternative to closing Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann, as was advocated by the school research staff. The Chairman reportedly also stated that, "The proposed elementary school integration proposals advanced by [his] committee have worked successfully in other places. . . ."

The Committee's plan, a complex one, proposed that 27 elementary schools share combined facilities. A predominantly Negro school was to be paired, in most cases, with three predominantly white schools, and the grades would be so divided that no school

would have a nonwhite population exceeding 22 per cent. This meant that children would go to about three elementary schools during their first seven years of formal education. Implicit in the plan, which could have included Hayes, was an upgrading of the predominantly Negro schools. Its own plan was not, however, the only plan which the Education Committee considered.

Heretofore, CORE and the NAACP had demanded that the Board, with the help of the Education Committee and the school staff, try to solve the problem of de facto school segregation. It had not specified a plan of its own. During this period, however, while the NAACP continued to urge Board action, CORE submitted its own plan to the Committee. CORE's plan differed from the Committee's plan in that the former would require students to change schools more often than would the latter. CORE was also strongly opposed to closing the predominantly Negro Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann Elementary Schools on the grounds that Negroes would have to bear the greater burden of school desegregation, since only Negroes would be bused to other schools. CORE's opposition to the closing of these two schools indicated a change in its policy, since it previously had been willing to see these schools closed if this would promote school integration.

The Education Committee discussed the two plans until early spring. Apparently, the Committee could not agree on one of them and, on March 25, 1965, it approved both and forwarded them to the Board of Education with no expression of preference. Along with these elementary school proposals, the Committee also submitted further recommendations on the city's junior and senior high schools. It was now up to the Board to discuss these plans and the plan submitted by its own Research Department and to determine its course of action for the fall of 1965.

Action by the Board:

The Board of Education rejected the plans offered by the Education Committee and CORE and voted to approve and implement the plan developed by the Research Department of the school system under the supervision of the Superintendent. In brief, this proposal called for closing Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann Elementary Schools and for distributing their student populations among other schools. This would eliminate the two most racially imbalanced schools, leaving only Hayes with a nonwhite student population exceeding 50 per cent, the state's guideline figure. At this time, Hayes' nonwhite population was approximately 84 per cent. The Board did accept the relatively minor recommendations made by the Education Committee concerning the senior high schools.

The Board estimated that in September, 1965, about 1,456 students would be transferred as a result of the new plan. It was anticipated that this figure would include about 115 high school students, 486 students in junior high school, 855 on the elementary school level. Not all students to be transferred were non-white. The plan called for the conversion of a school building on the periphery of the city to an elementary school to compensate for the closing of Horace Mann. There seemed to be less hesitancy about admitting that racial balance was a key factor than there had been the year before. On the other hand, there is some evidence to suggest that the 1965 plan was motivated as much by the desire to retire Horace Mann and Jefferson temporarily so that they could be opened later with a new "image" in connection with the urban renewal program, as by a genuine commitment to achieving racial balance.

At the junior high school level, about 13 per cent of the students in Centerline were nonwhite. The plan was expected to eliminate the problem of racial imbalance at this level by closing Jefferson Junior High and distributing its students throughout the system. The highest nonwhite population in any one junior high school was predicted to be 29 per cent. The Research Department's report stated, moreover, that,

No junior high schools are planned to be "open" schools in September, 1965. Present eighth grade pupils will finish their final year, under the open school policy, in their present school.

This was an attempt to avoid a failure such as had marred the proposed Peterson-Jefferson transfer that was included in the Board's first attempt to achieve better racial balance at the junior high level.¹ The Horace Mann students were to be similarly redistributed, with most of the transfers planned to require busing.

The cost of the plan was estimated at about \$190,000. for transportation and related items. The City School District had

¹It should be noted that, whether by coincidence or design, the open school policy was suspended when the nonwhite students were being transferred while it had been available the year before, when whites were involved. This is not to suggest that the Jefferson parents would have had reason to utilize open schools, however, and suspension of the policy may have been wise in any case in view of the unusually large number of transfers which the Research Department would have to plan.

to provide about one tenth of this amount from its own funds, since the state reimbursed the school district for up to 90 per cent of the total expenditure for transportation. Furthermore, both the Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann Elementary School facilities were leased to other agencies and did not go unused.

The Board's decision to close Jefferson and Horace Mann was a departure from its previous position, and it was not officially approved until May 11, 1965. However, when it was presented to the public on March 20, at least two Board members stated that they would support such a plan, and it appears that with one exception, the other Board members had also decided to approve the plan. The Superintendent, who had demonstrated his ability in administering the 1964-65 plan, apparently enjoyed the confidence of at least six of the seven Board members on this issue. This factor, along with the demands from the urban renewal group for the closing or upgrading of both Jefferson and Mann, were enough to generate the change in Board policy.

Before and after the Board announced the action that it was considering for September, 1965, the professional staff quietly sought support for the plan from individuals and groups within the community. Academicians, business groups, civic organizations, and leaders of parents' organizations were asked to support the plan at the public hearing set for May 5, 1965. The staff contacted these community representatives to make sure that no one would be surprised by the plan and that the staff would not be embarrassed by any "unexpected" opposition.

The support sought was essentially of two kinds: (1) from individuals in the community who had access to data suggesting that newly bused students assimilate as well as those new to the school for other reasons--in other words, professional, "expert" support; and (2) from local community organizations and groups which might endanger passage of the measure if their resistance was widespread and strong--that is, popular and "prestige" support. With such prior support and consent not only from the Board but also from individuals interested in community and school affairs, the staff's task of educating the public-at-large was, perhaps, substantially facilitated.

Describing the plan, a news report quoted one Board member as saying:

. . . if the Board decides to close the schools, the primary purpose will be to improve the educational achievement of disadvantaged children. Alleviating racial imbalance is a secondary

purpose. But it is an important one since racial imbalance affects pupil motivation (and) educational achievement . . .

The same individual reportedly also said that the school staff "has presented evidence that disadvantaged children transferred in the past to predominantly white, high-achieving schools have been helped educationally," and that the neighborhood children in the receiving schools "were not hurt by the transfers" carried out in September, 1964.¹

This was a common argument of persons supporting the proposed plan. School officials, including Board members themselves, felt that they had four possibilities. The Board could, conceivably, do nothing--an alternative which, in the words of one Board member, "we do not have." It could try to send white children to predominantly Negro schools--an action rejected at least partly because of the failure of the Peterson-Jefferson attempt. It could provide extra services to predominantly Negro schools--an approach tried through the Jefferson Project with meager results at best. Finally, it could close the predominantly Negro schools and disperse their students throughout the system--essentially the plan proposed.

Public Response:

After the plan was presented, groups in favor began to announce their positions publicly. One of the first was the Education Committee. Although the Committee had earlier opposed the closing of both Jefferson and Mann and attempted to promote its own modified Princeton Plan, its members apparently realized that such opposition would hamper rather than facilitate action for 1965. Later, the local chapter of NAACP came out in support of the plan "with reservations." The Mayor's Commission for Human Rights, the newly formed local chapter of the Urban League, the Greater Centerline Chamber of Commerce, the Catholic Interracial Council, and the Interfaith Committee on Religion and Race, among others, also announced their backing. Almost all of these groups, with the exception of the Chamber of Commerce and the Urban League, qualified their support. Nevertheless, it was support and it was valuable during the tense period the school system was experiencing.

¹Evidence that may shed additional light on the impact of the earlier transfers is adduced later in this report.

The groups and individuals who supported the Board's second plan were for the most part the same as had supported the 1964 effort. The 1965 supporters did include a new group--the Chamber of Commerce. The business community had apparently realized that it had a stake in education and community well-being and/or that they could support the plan safely. However, as in 1964, no representatives of financial or real estate groups announced their support, nor did any high-ranking commercial or professional organization other than the Chamber of Commerce.

The groups which opposed the Board's plan were motivated by a broad mixture of motives and philosophies. The opposition included groups which actively sought school integration and those opposed to it. The former included parents from both Jefferson and Mann schools, the Education Committee of CORE, and the East Side Action Organization, a new, grass-roots community group composed of residents of two of the city's public housing developments. The primary anti-integration organization was named "Citizens for Better Education."

Those who desired school desegregation but opposed the Board's plan did so for a number of reasons. These individuals wanted the burden of desegregation to be divided more equitably among all citizens, not just among Negroes. They felt that the predominantly Negro schools should be kept open and that white students should be bused to them as a means of achieving racial balance.

The Citizens for Better Education expressed the desire to preserve the neighborhood school concept, which they felt the Board's plan would destroy. Furthermore, they felt that there was no evidence to support the contention that racial segregation harmed either white or Negro children. Their solution to any problems, "if they existed," would be to upgrade Negro schools--a solution the Board had already tried through the Jefferson Project without apparent success. That "politics makes strange bedfellows" was vividly illustrated when this organization joined with the militant civil rights groups to oppose the Board's plan vehemently at the public hearing.

On the evening of May 5, 1965, the Board held a public hearing on the proposed plan for 1965. Attendance was estimated at close to 1,000, and nearly 100 persons expressed opinions on the plan. The hearing was a long one, lasting more than four hours. There were few flare-ups and no violence. The following is a description of the arguments of both sides:

Opponents of the plan [who felt it was] too radical argued in favor of the neighborhood school

concept. They charged there were no solid data to prove previous transfers of disadvantaged children into predominantly white schools were successful educationally. They challenged school officials' statements that the [Jefferson] Project had not raised academic achievement in predominantly Negro schools.

Those favoring the plan said it would benefit Negro children by putting them in competitive situations in high-achieving schools. It also would teach white children to live with Negroes without prejudice, it was stated.

The neighborhood school concept is outmoded when it produces segregated schools, which are inherently unequal, the proponents said. Some accused the opponents of using the neighborhood school concept to cover up their opposition to racial integration and equality.

Those opposing the plan as too moderate argued it was unfair and discriminatory to place the entire burden of busing and desegregation on Negro children. They charged Negro parents were not consulted and were being told what to do without any choice . . .

A vote on the proposed plan was to be taken at the Board's Regular Meeting scheduled for May 11, 1965.

The Board Decides:

At the May 11th Meeting, the Board discussed the proposed plan for September, 1965. One member attempted to have it submitted to a public referendum. A news account of this meeting reported another Board member as stating,

[I] would resign immediately from the Board, because [my] presence [here] would be meaningless, if the decision were left to a referendum . . . In my opinion the Board cannot delegate its authority or abrogate its responsibility by authorizing a referendum.

The dissenting member argued that the "voice of the people should be heard . . . I don't believe we should direct public opinion .

We should reflect public opinion and provide what the public wants." This attempt to place the measure before the public was defeated by a vote of 6 to 1.

The plan itself was voted on in sections. Each section was approved, 6 to 1, without amendments. The dissenting member attempted to justify his position by recalling that the Board had pledged the year before to uphold the neighborhood school concept. Later, however, he urged citizens to support the program and "assist it in every way possible," saying,

If the community continues to oppose the plan, it will be the education of our children that will suffer.

After the Board had approved the staff's plan for September, 1965, the Mayor of Centerline

. . . commended the Board's approval of the closing-busing plan as "a further indication of the city's desire to improve the educational opportunity of all of the children in Centerline." He called the plan "the best solution to a difficult problem."

This was the first public statement on the 1965 plan from any political leader in the community above the ward level.

In retrospect, it appears that approval of the plan was never really in doubt. School officials had "done their homework"--gathered available knowledge and marshalled community support in advance--more effectively than they had in 1964. While not the final solution to the problem, the plan was a second step that would, hopefully, prepare the school system and the community for the measures that would be needed in the future to attain the goal of equal educational opportunity for all. By the fall of 1965, many citizens in Centerline had come to realize that, as one Board member stated, ". . . keeping things as they are now would only be continuing what has gone on 100 years before."

The September, 1965, plan differed in many respects from its predecessor, which also considered racial balance in the assignment of students. Most obvious among these differences is the second plan's greater reliance on transportation.¹ Although it is presently

¹It is interesting to note that during the first interview

feasible to transport students to alleviate overcrowding and racial imbalance, this may not be the case in the foreseeable future. Increasing traffic congestion along with the possible extension of the Negro ghetto (since housing segregation remains a problem) may mean that many students will spend an increasing part of the school day on a bus. Hence, busing is probably not a final solution, but it does provide temporary relief in one area of the vast problem of school segregation. The 1965 plan also differed from the earlier one in that it closed schools which were still in fairly good physical condition, it eliminated the open school problem, and it involved larger numbers of students. Perhaps most important, it was more clearly directed toward desegregation even if the motives of those who approved it may have been, in some cases, different.

The 1965-66 School Year:

On the whole, the school integration plan implemented by the Centerline school administration in the fall of 1965 achieved its numerical objectives. Although the plan affected over 1,400 students, busing was necessary for only about 900. There were no major problems, which was somewhat surprising to many parents and others who were close to the school situation. Little teacher preparation was undertaken by the school system and, perhaps as a result, there were signs of anxiety in some faculty members in the receiving schools. However, such problems appear to have been minimal.

The parents whose children were bused had mixed feelings--some felt that busing was a good way to solve the problem of de facto school segregation, at least temporarily; some felt that busing was more bother than worth; and others felt that any new busing required should be into their schools and not away from them. It was from these parents and other concerned citizens that the protest of 1966, culminating in a second school boycott, originated.

The 1965-66 school year witnessed a number of important developments related to the school integration issue. Elections were held for three seats on the Board of Education in November; a number of new organizations arose to protest Board policy; the

period (June-September, 1964) the senior author was told by certain "informed sources" that "busing of students was out of the question." This position obviously changed substantially.

Superintendent announced the consideration of a Campus School program for the Centerline system; a boycott of Hayes Elementary School was conducted; and the Centerline community was plunged into a state of pessimism about school desegregation. In brief, the good will and community harmony that had ushered in the 1965 plan disappeared, seemingly largely due to the inability of the community to reach an acceptable solution to the problem of racially imbalanced Hayes School.

At least five new protest organizations appeared on the scene around this time. Three of these were most active in presenting the protests of the inner city residents to the Centerline community: The Centerline Committee for Integrated Education (CCIE); the Citizens of Jefferies Homes; and the Downtown Project Organization. The other two groups, the East Side Action Organization and the Central Improvement Organization, lent support from time to time.

Actually, at least eleven different "equal rights" organizations functioned during the September to September time span. From these, the Coordinating Committee in Support of Hayes School Parents emerged to organize and facilitate the protest. This committee was composed of members from the five organizations just mentioned, the NAACP, CORE, the Hayes School Parents, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Valley Interfaith Group, and the East Side Neighborhood Board. Of these, only the Hayes School Parents and the CCIE were specifically formed to push for integrated education in the inner city area. The others were neighborhood groups, religious organizations, and local branches of major civil rights groups.

The Centerline Committee for Integrated Education drew its membership from areas beyond the inner city. Along with the Hayes School Parents and the Citizens of Jefferies Homes, it spearheaded efforts to keep Hayes School open and to upgrade and integrate it. Leadership of the CCIE is comprised primarily of white, liberal, middle class individuals who live outside the inner city but have a deep commitment to the goal of integrated education. The group gave strong support to the Board of Education's efforts in the fall of 1965. At the same time, it gave the Board notice that the problem of de facto school segregation was not solved and that it would continue to prod the Board until de facto segregation was eliminated. This group fully expected the Board to act on the Hayes situation before the fall of 1966.

The Hayes School Parents' organization seems to have emerged from among the inner city parents who had been meeting relative to their concern about (1) the rumored closing of Mann and Jefferson

and (2) certain incidents of conflict and friction which had occurred between students and faculty at the three schools. When the September, 1965, plan materialized, these parents (whose children were involved) objected to the fact that their children would have to ride buses to get to school. To them, thus placing the burdens of achieving integration solely on the Negro pupils seemed unjust and discriminatory.

After September, 1965, the Hayes School Parents' group organized and, as one parent-leader stated,

The Mothers' Organization had met and agreed to keep the school open. But the implementation? That's the rub, even if we all agree on principle! [Boycotting against school closure] was not done by the Horace Mann Mothers, and they lost. The Hayes parents thought about this . . . We reviewed the results of talking with the Board for four years. We had to do something more than talk . . .

The Hayes School Parents had three goals: to keep Hayes open; to upgrade the school; and to integrate the school. They presented no plans, since they felt that "the Board should come up with its own plan."

The Hayes School Parents, primarily Negro, drew its membership from the Hayes neighborhood. For the most part, it was organized and directed by "amateurs"; it was not a group created by "outside agitators" as was charged by many opponents of its demands. Basically, it was a group of concerned parents who felt that it was time for the white community to "share the burden of school integration." The Hayes School Parents organization emerged as the spokesman for the inner city residents in their struggle to retain Hayes.

The Citizens of Jefferies Homes, on the other hand, was a neighborhood association whose development was promoted by professional organizers. It was concerned with the needs and wishes of the residents of Jefferies Homes, a public housing project in the area. The group subsequently gained a momentum of its own, and its membership overlapped with that of the Hayes School Parents. This group was, of course, composed of residents of the inner city and was primarily Negro. However, unlike the two groups just described, its goals were not limited to education. Since the Hayes School was within the neighborhood, however, the CJH was a natural ally of the other two groups. Keeping Hayes open was well within the sphere of self-interest of the Citizens of Jefferies Homes.

In many cases, those organizations which were prominent in the early stages of the de facto school segregation struggle in Centerline continued to lend their support as well. CORE and the NAACP, for example, backed the actions taken by the CCIE, the Hayes School Parents, the Citizens of Jefferies Homes, and their allies. It seems apparent, however, that the protest of 1965-66 had a broader base than did the initial efforts to end de facto school segregation in 1962-63.

In October, the East Side Action Organization, another of the relatively new groups, publicly demanded the reopening of Jefferson Junior High and Horace Mann Elementary Schools. This demand expressed the dissatisfaction of many inner city parents, as is reflected in the following newspaper report of October 15, 1965:

We will not allow our little ones to suffer the gross injustice that has been created by [the 1965 integration plan]. If Negroes are bused then whites must be bused. If whites have neighborhood schools, then we will have them, too!

It is stark and genuine hypocisy for [Horace Mann] and [Jefferson] Schools to be closed on the one hand--then reopened for Manpower Training and Development, Headstart, and Adult Education programs on the other.

The closing of the schools is wrong, illegal, unfair, and intolerable. We haven't been able to get satisfaction on the local level, so, as a result, we have complained to the Department of Justice, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell [who was not, of course, their official representative]

. . .

Thus, in the fall of 1965, the inner city parents were still determined to work for the reopening and desegregation of the two schools in their neighborhood that had been closed. The same issue was to arise even more pervasively not long thereafter, when the Board of Education, the Superintendent, and the school administration would be pitted against the coalition of protest groups regarding the future of Hayes School.

The November Elections:

The November, 1965, elections wrought significant changes in the Board of Education. The seats of four of the members who had

been involved in the events of 1963 to 1965 were not at stake, but three new members were elected, one of whom had voiced strong, conservative objections to the 1965 plan. The one Board member who had voted against the 1965 plan remained in office, and one of the more liberal members (the only Democrat on the Board) was replaced. Hence, there was a definite shift toward reaction.

It is difficult to assess the role that the Board's actions on the de facto segregation issue had on the elections. Desegregation may have been a contributing factor, but the races were close in a generally Republican year in a normally Republican community. At least two of the three Democratic Party candidates were outspokenly liberal on the issue, while it seems not unlikely that the Republican Party's machinery of nomination was more consciously directed toward conservative choices than it had been in the recent past.

The Board that took office in January, 1966, included the three new members. The newcomers generally shared the points of view that predominated among their colleagues or, in some cases, that had marked their colleagues two or three years before. What the new members lacked was the educating experience that had modified the old Board's judgment and led it progressively to undertake responsible action. Hence, a process of "education" to Board service was needed. This may have contributed to the Board's apparent difficulty in acting effectively on the pressing problem of Hayes. The new members were, in any case, less receptive to the demands of the inner city residents from the beginning of their tenure.

One of the defeated Democratic candidates was a Negro leader who had been active in prodding the Board on school desegregation. As a result, the Board still has no representative of the Centerline Negro population. Had he run as a Republican, the result might have been different, since he ran well in a close election. However, one cannot know whether the continued lack of Negro representation on the Board reflected white citizens' rejection of Negroes, opposition to school desegregation efforts, Centerline's usual preference for the other major political party, or other factors. The official inclusion of a well-known, respected Negro leader on the Board might, however, have influenced the events of 1966.¹

¹The most liberal member remaining on the Board resigned in mid-1966, and it is rumored that the Mayor vetoed the suggestion that the defeated Negro candidate be appointed to fill the resulting vacancy.

A New Suggestion--The Campus Plan:

During November, 1965, the Superintendent suggested publicly that the solution to Centerline's problem of racial imbalance might best be achieved through the development of educational parks--the clustering of school facilities into campus-type constellations to which students would travel. Some cities have already established campus plans in one form or another. The arrangement has the advantage of permitting a larger variety of school specialists and resources to be available for regular use than is normally feasible in a traditional school setting. It was a new proposal in Centerline, however, and it appealed to the school administration as a promising possibility for solving the problem of de facto segregation permanently. Rough estimates of cost were made in the fall of 1965, with investigation of feasibility and potential sites planned to follow in 1966. However, the school administration was quick to emphasize that this was a long range proposal and that it might be as much as five years before even one campus site could be ready.

Many inner city citizens and their allies reacted favorably to the campus plan as presented by the Superintendent. However, they also realized that it would not solve the immediate problem presented by Hayes Elementary School. One reaction was as follows:

The campus plan is a good idea. All groups are in favor of such a plan . . . But it is recognized that since it will be a long time to build, two generations of Negro kids will still be in segregated schools. Therefore, the [inner city] parents are not excited. It is innovation, but we should have some innovations for today. Twelve hundred children are in [Hayes] school and it's 90 per cent Negro. If it could be shown that the white community will share their concern over this problem, the Negro parents will endorse this plan. The Board's opinion unofficially is along these lines: "We can afford to wait out the Negro stir rather than whites moving out to the suburbs."

Available estimates placed the earliest possible opening of the first buildings of a campus site around 1970. The Hayes situation and the problem of newly emerging racial imbalance in schools on the periphery of the Negro ghetto could not wait another five years.

Planning for Hayes:

What to do with Hayes was the most pressing issue. Part of the informal agreement between the school administration and the protest groups was that the latter would support the former in its 1965 school integration plans as long as some solution for the Hayes situation would be developed for the fall of 1966. In the period from September, 1965, until April, 1966, both the school administration and the Education Committee grappled with this problem. The school administration worked on a plan to bus students away from Hayes and, over the next few years, to phase out all educational activities there. Thus, Hayes would eventually close, as had Jefferson and Mann. The Education Committee, on the other hand, attempted to revise and update the modified Princeton Plan which it had originally suggested to the Board for September, 1965.

The school administration, although forewarned by the protests of the East Side Action Organization and by other protest groups, apparently felt that the eventual closing of Hayes was the most feasible plan since it would involve busing only inner city children to receiving schools in white neighborhoods. In addition, the Board had received a petition through which 4,000 signatories had indicated their opposition to the busing of white students to inner city schools. The Education Committee's plan would have involved some cross-busing as a result of its "pairing" of schools in the inner city with a number of schools in white neighborhoods. It also called for upgrading and offering special courses in the inner city schools as an additional attraction for the pairing scheme--in effect, incorporating some of the features of a campus plan in existing facilities. Hayes would have become an "Early Childhood Education Center" under this plan. The school administration was not swayed, however, from its position that cross-busing in any form would be too unpalatable to the white citizens. The Board of Education rejected the plan because, according to a newspaper report on March 24, 1966, it " . . . looked like cross-busing of pupils, which both the Board and the Superintendent have indicated they do not favor."

In April, the Superintendent introduced the school administration's plan to bus 150 to 200 Hayes students to schools lying outside the inner city area. This plan immediately aroused the opposition of the protest groups, since it would continue and expand the practice of one way busing. The campus plan was also proposed at the meeting as a longer range solution, but this did not satisfy demands for the continued operation of Hayes. A direct confrontation between the inner city parents and a group of white parents who would have been affected by cross-busing occurred,

and one individual connected with the inner city parents' groups remarked that,

... We got slaughtered. We were so far out, we got lost. It was a repetition of the year before in trying to keep [Horace Mann] and [Jefferson] open. The same thing happened. We made statements on what we'd like to see, and they listened. But then they [the white parents] got up and protested for the neighborhood school. Some didn't want their kids sitting next to a Negro child. That's what started the shouting. . . .

The April meeting, it is suspected, reinforced the Board and the Superintendent in their joint decision not to cross-bus. Thereafter, a more definite stand was taken by the school administration; the school system would not bus white students to inner city schools. At the same time, the decision on what to do with Hayes was tabled by the Board for consideration at the May meeting.

The April meeting, it is suspected, reinforced the Board and the Superintendent in their joint decision not to cross-bus. The inner city parents, specifically those connected with Hayes School, did not have a plan of action for the fall of 1966. They did, however, know what they wanted and what they would not tolerate. Simply stated, they wanted Hayes "open, upgraded, and integrated." They were not directly and immediately interested in long range solutions to the school de facto segregation problem such as the campus plan or any other plan that went beyond 1966. In fact, they did not especially care what specific plan the Board or any other group presented as long as Hayes stayed open and their children were not bused to other schools. One parent, asked what she would do if the choice were between busing Hayes children out and leaving the school as it was, predominantly Negro, replied that she would work to keep it as it is. Apparently, many parents felt that desegregation was not worth what they perceived as a further loss of dignity. But most of the groups opposing the Board on the de facto school segregation issue took the position that no either-or alternative should be considered and that the Board was responsible for providing both equality and desegregation. Furthermore, those concerned with urban renewal pointed out that their plans would be jeopardized unless there was a quality school nearby, since middle class families would not move into the area.

In sum, the 1966 protest appears to have been an effort to force the school system to transfer white children to an improved Hayes School and, thus, to permit Negro parents to serve as "hosts" to white children as the white parents in the Tyler area, for school desegregation, since middle class families would not move into the area.

In sum, the 1966 protest appears to have been an effort to force the school system to transfer white children to an improved Hayes School and, thus, to permit Negro parents to serve as "hosts"

example, had done for Negro children in the fall of 1964. Time was short, however, and few avenues within the legal framework of educational policy-making remained open. The protesters had no direct representation on the Board. They could express themselves at the May Board meeting, but this could probably be offset by another petition from white parents. Finally, an appeal to a higher authority such as the State Department of Education would take time, and the Board would surely have decided upon a course of action before such an appeal could be processed. Hence, the Hayes School Parents felt that the only way they could present their demands effectively would be through a school boycott. Such a boycott, if successful, would cause the Board to reconsider the Superintendent's busing plan.

The 1962 boycott was primarily a confrontation between the Board of Education and organized civil rights pressure groups. In 1966, the Board found itself assailed directly by organized parents living in the inner city district affected. The difference is important, for the Board could not as easily use the argument, as it had in 1962, that the boycott was promoted by "professional agitators" who did not represent the true feelings of those directly concerned. While skilled, experienced guidance was available to neighborhood leaders, it was unmistakably clear that the 1966 protest was largely a "folk" movement primarily dependent on indigenous leadership and support.

The Hayes School Boycott:

The boycott was intended to precede the May Board meeting by a week but, as it turned out, the Board meeting and the Hayes boycott occurred on the same day. The organizers of the boycott came primarily from two groups: the Hayes School Parents and the Citizens of Jefferies Homes. They planned a meeting for all Hayes parents and neighborhood residents to be held the Saturday preceding the boycott and, on Sunday, 19 mothers began a door-to-door campaign to enlist the cooperation of other mothers in keeping their children away from Hayes. Support came from other concerned groups both within and outside the inner city area. In addition, the two groups planned "freedom schools" to occupy the children's time during the boycott. In all, a total of close to two hundred adults, white and Negro, were actively involved either in conducting the boycott or in holding "freedom school" classes. Headquarters was established at a local church.

The boycott of Hayes school took place on Tuesday, May 10. Of a total of 1,124 students, 907 stayed away from school. On a normal school day, about 70 students are absent, so the boycott

was obviously effective. The school administration had had advance notice of the boycott and the Superintendent had announced that,

As Superintendent, of course, I regret this action . . . The problem we are dealing with is very complex, and it seems to me that groups often lose sight of the total issues and often forget that the primary purpose of education is to educate . . .

At the same time, a spokesman for the protesters stated:

. . . the white community must share in the responsibility of overcoming the segregation that it has created . . . the decision to boycott was reluctantly and sadly made . . .

The "freedom classes" were held as planned. Assistance was offered from a variety of sources including the Roman Catholic Church in Centerline. With regard to the boycott itself, one leader recalled that,

. . . Things were quiet at [Hayes]. The teachers greeted us. There were no threats. No child was to be kept from going to school, we decided beforehand. A number of white families throughout the city withdrew their kids and sent them to a freedom school as a form of protest.

Another individual involved stated:

There was some help from several teachers in [Hayes] . . . We even took out insurance to cover us for that one day! . . .

Thus, the boycott was peaceful and successful, achieving its objective of demonstrating the depth of parental dissatisfaction with existing conditions at Hayes and with the plan proposed by the school system. In combination with events that occurred at the Board meeting a few hours later, its impact was profound.

The May Board Meeting:

The meeting was held not far from the Negro ghetto in one of the largest school auditoriums in the city. It convened late in the afternoon with several hundred people in attendance, many of whom had spent most of the day working on the boycott. Understandably, the air was charged with tension. Unlike its predecessor in

April, this meeting was dominated by speakers opposing the school system's proposal. According to a newspaper account, all 29 individuals given permission to address the Board voiced criticism of the plan and urged its disapproval; no one spoke in support of it. In addition, many speakers expressed themselves in favor of the Education Committee's plan. Many in the audience felt that the white citizens opposed to cross-busing who had been so prominent at the April meeting had been advised not to attend and had been given private assurances that the Board would approve the gradual closing of Hayes. Feelings were high on both sides, and perhaps it was fortunate that they were (apparently) not present.

Many of the speeches ranged from impassioned pleas to virtual threats, but the message was clear: We care about our children and we are determined that they shall have equal educational opportunities! On the stage, two key Board members and the Superintendent listened intently, sometimes angry, sometimes sympathetic, sometimes grave, but always moved by the demonstration they were witnessing. Other members of the Board were sometimes less attentive, although some were apparently surprised and perhaps frightened. One or two appeared to be resentful and, as the meeting continued, they seemed to pay less and less attention to the speakers. On one side of the stage sat the Assistant Superintendents and Bureau Directors, some absorbed in the proceedings and others, apparently unconcerned, joking among themselves with their legs sprawled across nearby empty chairs.

As the meeting continued, it became increasingly apparent that the inner city parents were in no mood to accept a defeat. It was as if the frustrations accumulated through generations of discriminatory treatment were flowing from the hearts of a people that was saying to the Board that it had had enough; somehow, the new generation would be different. It seemed that the Board could only vote to table the matter, and one member moved that it be tabled until the next meeting. After a period of silence, the motion was seconded and the Board was polled. Two members opposed the motion, but the other four present supported it and it carried. One member remarked:

. . . we have developed a confrontation that can't possibly help education . . . I do not see any solution before us . . . but I feel additional dialogue with concerned groups might result in a better plan than either that is before us . . .

Few expected that anything further would be heard of the school

system's plan except, perhaps, that it had been withdrawn.

Picking up the Pieces:

The protesters promised "more and larger" boycotts if the Board subsequently approved the plan, and they requested the State Education Department to investigate the situation as well. Meanwhile, a spokesman for urban renewal interests announced that, unless something were done to upgrade both the school situation and the area occupied by Jefferies Homes, attempts to market middle class homes nearby would be hopeless. The Superintendent soon announced that he had withdrawn the proposal that Hayes School be closed, leaving the de facto school segregation problem in Centerline no closer to a solution than it had been almost a year earlier, and suggested a qualified, voluntary cross-busing alternative.

The situation was a difficult one, since the positions of both sides had stiffened; it seemed that all concerned were adamant about what was or was not feasible or acceptable to the interests they represented. The Board and the Superintendent felt, apparently with some justification, that the white majority would not tolerate compulsory cross-busing, and it is doubtful whether the new Board would have approved it in any case. The Negro parents had made it clear that they would not tolerate one-way busing out of the ghetto and the gradual closing of Hayes.

In many ways, the Superintendent was the man in the middle, and he may have suffered most in the process. He had lost the confidence of the protest groups, which he had previously enjoyed, and the Board had rejected a plan with which he was closely identified and to which he was heavily committed. He had been forced to withdraw it in the face of strong and organized opposition. In an effort to recoup, he retreated to a variation of the open school policy which depended upon the good will of parents asked to volunteer their children for cross-busing.

Action for September:

The new plan was proposed at the June meeting of the Board and passed by a vote of six to one. In essence, it called on the parents of 700 white children from outside the Hayes district and the parents of a like number of Hayes Negroes to volunteer as a prerequisite for action. If the required numbers from both groups thus became available, cross-busing would be arranged and the resulting nonwhite student population at Hayes would be below 50 per cent. The Superintendent stated that a massive program of special programs and services was also being planned for Hayes and

added, according to a press report, that,

. . . I know of no school, unless it is a private school, that would have as many things a school should have to make it succeed . . . however . . . it does nothing to integrate the school.

The lone dissenter on the Board was quoted as saying that he opposed the open school policy on the grounds

. . . that it can be used as an escape hatch for those wishing to avoid integration and may "siphon off" talented students who will be needed at Hayes if the school is to be kept open and eventually integrated . . .

Another member was reported as having remarked that he was

. . . hopeful the services to be offered at Hayes will raise the level of achievement at the school, but [he] warned that if the program is to succeed, it must have the support of the parents . . . I'm not sure we'll have that in September, 1966 . . .

Faced with what appeared to be the only offer that the Board and the Superintendent would make for September, 1966, some of the groups allied with the Hayes parents decided to support the volunteer program. Others, including the Hayes School Parents, continued to object violently, but without visible success. A legal brief was filed with the State Education Department by these groups and awaited action. Meanwhile, the school administration solicited support for its plan in the form of volunteers for cross-busing. The Superintendent of Schools made radio and television appeals for volunteers, and other communications media were used as well. Some community organizations lent their support while others remained on the sidelines. Neither the white nor the Negro quotas came close to being filled, however, and the plan probably aroused more antagonism than support on the part of most of those concerned. Hayes School remained heavily racially imbalanced in the fall of 1966.

A Look to the Future:

In June, the Superintendent promised that campus site planning work would be accelerated. Preliminary investigations were undertaken at Board expense, and it was publicly announced that the Board would vote on the plan no later than March, 1967. As envisaged in mid-1966, the campus plan would eliminate the city's 33 elementary schools and replace them with 20 new schools on four

campus sites. Again, this is long range planning and does not alleviate the immediate problems of de facto school segregation facing the Centerline Public Schools, although it suggests that the problem is not being forgotten and that the Superintendent continues to seek progress in this area.

It is difficult to predict more immediate next steps. Substantial progress has been made in Centerline and most of those involved have learned a great deal, although there seems to have been some retrogression toward the end of the period. The community recognizes the problem and its leaders are pledged to find a workable solution, but consensus has proved to be an elusive goal. Nor is Centerline immune to "white backlash" pressures that have been noted around the country. On the other hand, Centerline's Negro population is not numbered in the hundreds of thousands and the inner city area is not large by big city standards. There is a substantial body of concerned and informed white and Negro citizens anxious to help the professional leadership and the Board of Education to solve the problem. The next few years seem critical; hopefully, Centerline can do the job. If not, one must wonder even more about the prospects for our larger metropolitan areas.

Part Two--Analysis and Conclusions

In many ways, the events related above tell their own story, one that will hopefully shed new light on community decision-making processes related to public school desegregation. Its value should be enhanced as it is distilled in combination with studies conducted elsewhere and as parallels and contrasts can be identified and analyzed. This is a task that still lies ahead, but it seems appropriate to draw specific attention here to selected themes that seem to emerge from the case study.

It seems apparent that the Board of Education, perhaps reflecting majority community sentiment, resisted change and moved only under external pressure. Over a year passed between the first public awareness of the problem of de facto school segregation and the Board's formal acceptance of racial balance as a criterion for future assignment of students. During this period, significant pressure came from three sources: the protest groups, the Education Committee, and the State Education Department. But even by July, 1963, the Board was not fully committed to playing an active role in fostering school desegregation. Seven more months passed before a specific plan was presented, under pressure, and it was an additional seven months before the plan was even partially implemented.

Throughout this period, influential Board members maintained the position that racial balance was, at most, a secondary criterion in the assignment of students to schools and that the neighborhood school concept was primary. It was not until the second plan was presented to the public in March of 1965 that the Board openly committed itself to a policy of action to promote school desegregation, and this policy was subsequently moderated as a result of the 1965 elections and other factors detailed above. Even the March, 1965, plan abandoned the neighborhood school concept only insofar as two overwhelmingly Negro schools were concerned; neighborhood schools were retained in all predominantly white areas. In any case, what seems to have been amply demonstrated at each step of the process is that change could not or would not have occurred in the absence of outside pressure. The Board reacted but did not generate its own momentum.

It seems equally clear that groups outside the established educational or political power structure, the protest groups, were primarily responsible for initiating change. Although they did not create or implement the specific plans that emerged, it was they who brought the de facto segregation issue to the attention of the com-

munity and virtually forced the hand of the Board and the school district's administration. The picket line and the boycott were their most dramatic and effective tools, but the participation of the politically sophisticated, courageous, and charismatic leaders who sparked the original protests seems to have been critical. The nature of the protest gradually changed and some of its effectiveness seemed to dissipate after two of these key figures left the community, but this may have been largely a coincidence in view of other events that occurred at about the same time. Nevertheless, the protest groups have expanded in number and, at least in some ways, in influence. They continue to pinpoint what they see as the shortcomings of educational policy, programs, and administration, and to prod the educational establishment toward the kinds of action they seek.

Once the protest groups had established the de facto segregation issue as a source of significant community conflict and, therefore, an important community concern, influential citizens sought ways to restore equilibrium. In this effort, all those involved turned to the Education Committee as an "interested third party" informally representing the community as a whole. It is apparent that this role is an important one to understand, and there was considerable disagreement about it in Centerline. Some viewed the Education Committee as purely an advisory body, while others felt that it should play a more active role by participating directly in negotiations and attempting to mediate the dispute. Until the fall of 1964, the Committee appears to have served all these functions. To the extent that the Committee became an advocate of specific desegregation plans (including its own), its "interested third party" role may have been compromised. For whatever reasons, the role of the Education Committee did seem to diminish after early 1965, but the Committee seems clearly to have performed an essential community service during the first two years of active protest. Its future role is in doubt, since its history suggests that such a group can serve effectively on a continuing basis only to the extent that its tasks and authority are clearly defined and accepted by all concerned. That this was not always the case seems amply documented above.

Probably the majority of those who served on the Education Committee felt that they had received something of an "education" themselves through the "process of dialogue" discussed above. It seems worthy of mention that the opportunity for direct confrontation between those with opposing viewpoints provided by the Committee's sessions seems to have helped at least some of the participants to understand and accept their "adversaries" as committed individuals rather than stereotyped disputants "looking for a

fight." There are some disputes, of course, in which one or more parties do not share fundamental values and are seeking conflict rather than accommodation; confrontation may do little to relieve such situations. When all concerned do want to solve a problem, however, personal contact under appropriate and confidential auspices may help to avoid or ameliorate conflict. Those directly involved in the negotiations can develop trust in one another as individuals, can learn how the situation at issue may be differentially perceived, and may be able to proceed toward agreement on basic facts in the absence of a need to impress their respective constituencies. As mutual understanding and agreement develop, of course, it is the responsibility of all involved to prepare, inform, and orient the groups they represent. Thus, evolving consensus among the direct participants can be reflected within their constituencies.

The Education Committee functioned largely in this manner, except that the representatives of the Board and, particularly, of the school administration seemed to have failed to keep those they represented as fully oriented as would have been desirable. Thus, the administrative staff in particular "fell behind" and often seemed unprepared when consensus was reached within the Committee. It also seems that not all concerned shared the commitment to equality of educational opportunity that was being pressed by the protesters, perhaps one reason for the apparent lapses in communication.

Urban communities are not self-sufficient, autonomous units existing in a social and political vacuum; they are subject to outside influence and authority. Just as the local protests disturbed one element of the sociopolitical equilibrium in Centerline and led to efforts to re-establish it, so the Civil Rights Revolution emerging nationally stimulated broader actions that mirrored and influenced the local situation throughout. One such action was the message to local boards of education relating to racial imbalance that was issued in June, 1963, by the State Education Department. This seems to have influenced the situation in Centerline by adding to the pressure on the Board to seek an accommodation with the protest groups as well as, perhaps, by helping to get the Board "off the hook" with more conservative elements in the community. In short, the Board could present itself as doing simply what the state required of it. The state helped also by contributing needed information, by providing the auspices for the Education Committee, and in other ways. Thus, extralocal influence and agencies seem to have markedly aided the effort to harmonize conflict within the community. This suggests that, despite the expressed feelings of many local leaders to the contrary, outside re-

sources may sometimes be helpful and even necessary in the solution of local problems.

The point has been made that much of the official and unofficial indigenous leadership in Centerline was not visibly involved in the situation, whether by choice or by default. Perhaps most significant was the almost complete silence of governmental and political party leaders not directly involved except for a seemingly minor role played by the Mayor. With few exceptions, teachers' organizations, legal and other professional associations, labor unions, and civic and business groups did not become publicly involved. Religious organizations of the three major faiths publicly supported movement toward desegregation and a number of religious leaders worked in this direction, although clergymen as a group or as individuals do not seem to have played a significant role in resolving the crisis. While the local mass media appear to have given generally objective coverage to relevant events as they occurred, the press tended to oppose desegregation efforts and sometimes denounced them vigorously.

This lack of involvement of so much of the community leadership probably made the job harder for those who chose or were forced by their positions (e.g., Board members) to take part. Even more important, negotiations were held and decisions were made without the broad participation that might have led to better and more democratic decisions and greater community support. Experience elsewhere suggests that a united front presented unequivocally by the leadership can do much to foster general acceptance of an innovation--such as public school desegregation--that might otherwise lead to significant community conflict. Further, it seems essential that leaders take principled, responsible stands publicly on controversial issues if responsible community behavior is to follow.

Because of the leadership vacuum, the role of the Superintendent of Schools was a particularly important one. It will be recalled that an assistant superintendent (who had been with the Centerline School System throughout his career) served as Acting Superintendent during the first year of the de facto segregation dispute. He was, of course, in a relatively weak position as a "lame duck" official and probably lacked the power to make long term commitments. In retrospect, it seems that this may have helped to retard the decision-making process and, consequently, made the new Superintendent's job harder. It deprived the community of the active, authoritative leadership needed to prepare and present a major new program and to develop popular support for it at a critical time.

The new Superintendent took office with much in his favor. Not only was he new to the system, but he had previously been Superin-

tendent of Schools in a nearby community and was favorably known throughout the Centerline area. He was in a good position, therefore, to utilize his special influence as a new appointee without being vulnerable to "carpetbagger" allegations. It may also be hypothesized that, since he had changed positions several times to accept increasingly attractive opportunities, his primary loyalties were to his profession rather than to the Centerline Public Schools. Of course, this may have modified as he became involved in the local situation and helped to develop and implement solutions. Whether because of the arrival of the new Superintendent or because of a coincidental, natural acceleration of events, progress seemed to occur faster after his arrival.

He seems to have performed well as the "middleman" between the Board and the staff and the Board and the Education Committee. He gained the trust of such diverse individuals as the protest leaders and members of the Board of Education and was able to establish and maintain communication between them. He was also generally successful in his efforts to interpret the work and decisions of the school system as a whole to the public. By contrast, the lack of communication during the interim period seems to have been at least partly responsible for the school boycott in the fall of 1962. Despite obvious preparations and attempts by the protest groups to communicate using less drastic and dramatic means, the Board refused to recognize that a problem existed until 900 children stayed home from school on the first day of the semester. The resulting disruption of school administration and program, as well as the public exposure of the cleavage, might well have been avoided by effective communication and a willingness on the part of school officials to seek out, identify, and confront potential problem areas in advance.

The new Superintendent set out to do just this and, possibly as a result, overt community friction regarding de facto segregation was kept to a reasonable minimum during his first two years in office. Dissent found its primary public expression at the public meetings and hearings, where the Superintendent personally handled most of the burden of public criticism. With the major exception of the mass evasion of the Peterson-Jefferson transfer through the open school route, the plans for the fall of 1964 and the fall of 1965 were implemented almost intact. This seems due in large measure to the forthright leadership exerted by the Superintendent in support of the accommodation that had been reached among the Board, the staff, the protest groups, and other leading citizens who were involved.

Apparently convinced of the need for a united posture to elicit public acceptance, he was able to obtain the active public involvement and support of virtually the entire Board and his administrative

lieutenants, some of whom seemed lukewarm to the idea at best, in "selling" the new plans to the community. As has been mentioned above, this was done without the help of many of the city's leadership groups. It is also worth noting that one of the most prominent, influential, and conservative members of the Board became one of the Superintendent's strongest and most effective supporters as events unfolded and the Board member educated himself to the human problems involved. Nevertheless, the Superintendent continued to bear the brunt of the task, and he was under great pressure from all concerned throughout the period. From a human point of view, his position appeared to be a lonely one indeed.

The situation changed radically when even the delicate degree of consensus that had accompanied the plans accepted in 1964 and 1965 could not be attained in 1966. The pressures on the Superintendent from several directions had increased greatly, and he was unable to find a formula that was even minimally acceptable to the interests most directly concerned. The new Board not only had less experience with the problem, but also tended to be more conservative. For the first time, the protesters rejected discriminatory desegregation proposals and made demands that included the reassignment of white students, a prospect that aroused vigorous opposition among many white parents whose children might have been affected. In addition, school officials had not forgotten the failure of the proposal they had made to assign a predominantly white group (from Peterson) to a predominantly Negro school (Jefferson) in the fall of 1964. As a result, the Superintendent had virtually no room to maneuver in 1966 and, on occasion, alienated some of his supporters through public recriminations, apparent inability to deliver on what they had perceived as firm commitments, and contradictory statements. At first, for example, he proposed the closing of Hayes because its poor image made educational progress there unlikely at best; later, when seeking white "volunteers," he went out of the way to praise the work of its teachers as well as its educational potential. He publicly suggested that Negro parents tended not to be concerned about their children's education, as well.

It seems apparent that the Superintendent failed in 1966 where he had succeeded in 1964 and 1965, but it is hard to see how he could have achieved a meaningful consensus in view of the interests arrayed against each other. He was able to present a potentially successful long range solution, the campus plan, but the schools opened in the fall of 1966 with no overt evidence that progress had been made since the preceding year. If anything, the outlook was bleaker than before, since the Superintendent had lost the trust and confidence of the protest groups and even, in most cases, of their most moderate allies. It might be presumptuous to draw con-

clusions here on the basis of necessarily incomplete knowledge of the situation. The Superintendent certainly did not help matters when he "lost his cool" in the spring of 1966, but he is as human as the rest of us and it seems unjust to criticize him for that. The culprit seems to have been the pressure, which had risen to a point where few men in his position could have reacted calmly. What seems to be needed in such situations is some mechanism to reduce the pressure to tolerable levels; we can only speculate that the active involvement of a broad spectrum of the community's leadership might have had this effect. Also in the realm of speculation is how the situation would have developed had the Superintendent not sought a "political" consensus but rather adopted the "professional responsibility" stance advocated by U. S. Commissioner of Education Howe when he said, "The time has come for educators to put their own careers on the line to compel their communities to integrate their educational systems."¹

It seems worth noting that the first or Fall, 1964, plan was implemented essentially as projected in the two elementary schools involved but was largely compromised on the junior high school level. The smoothest transition of all occurred at Gilbert, where the new pupils came from a contiguous area and, while predominantly Negro, included a sizable minority of whites. The school had a relaxed, accepting atmosphere, and the transfer seems not to have been perceived as primarily a desegregation measure. Tyler School, on the other hand, received an almost entirely Negro group that was bused from an inner city neighborhood. The emphasis at Tyler was on achievement, and the newcomers were seen by some as intruders. Coming to Tyler, they encountered probably a greater academic challenge than they would have found at any other school in the city. It was felt by some that Tyler had been chosen in an effort to sabotage the program and because many of the supporters of the protest lived in the Tyler District. In addition, the PTA and the Tyler Library Committee were both dominated by mothers opposed to desegregation, and the principal felt indebted and loyal to them. The pro-desegregation parents rarely helped in the school. Nevertheless, the change was implemented with little upheaval.

At the junior high school level, on the other hand, evasion decimated the program as has been detailed above. Some knowledgeable observers have suggested that Peterson Junior High may have been chosen to participate not only because the school was scheduled

¹New York Times, June 19, 1966.

for closing anyway, but also because it was felt that the predominantly lower class white parents in that district would be least able to resist. Whether or not the latter is the case, the wisdom and fairness of the Peterson-Jefferson transfer is open to serious question. Both objectively and subjectively, this already disadvantaged group was asked to sacrifice more than any other group involved in the plan. Objectively, they were assigned to a school considerably further from their homes in most cases, and no transportation was to be provided. Subjectively, they were assigned to a school in the one neighborhood in the city that they perceived as below them on the status ladder. Already feeling socially insecure and victimized, they were hardly able to accept what they perceived as a social "demotion."

The wisdom of the plan hinges not only on its political feasibility, which was never really tested due to the open school "safety valve," but also on its educational efficacy. It is hard to see how either the Peterson or the Jefferson groups could have gained much educationally from going to school together. While intergroup education is clearly important, it is not the total of what the public schools should have to offer. The kinds of learning incentives that might have been provided by intergroup education across social class lines would not have resulted even from a successful Peterson-Jefferson transfer.

Given the decision to include the Peterson-Jefferson transfer in the program, it seems apparent that the availability of the open school policy weakened the plan at a critical point. This admitted attempt to provide a "safety valve" to appease disgruntled parents--the Board did not want to "force" compliance--had a result that should have been predictable: the failure of this part of the plan. It is hard to believe that at least some school officials failed to recognize what would happen, since it was known that the Peterson area housed a closely-knit, ethnically homogeneous, working class population, probably the kind of group most frightened by racial desegregation. In view of these facts, it seems at least reasonable to hypothesize that the choice of Peterson and the retention of the open school policy may have been motivated by officials who were not actively seeking success for the overall plan, unless gross insensitivity was involved.¹

¹These comments are directed at one or more of the Superintendent's top aides; there is no reason to believe that the situation reflected his own convictions or intentions in any way. It should be recalled that he had been in Centerline for less than a year at this time and was probably not yet fully acquainted with every section of the city.

Utilization of the open school option can, perhaps, be viewed as the "poor man's equivalent" of the "flight" to the suburbs or to private schools that may occur when middle class white families attempt to avoid desegregation. It seems clear that ways must be found to make such attempts at circumvention ineffective if we genuinely mean to move toward a racially integrated society. In the absence of desegregated housing, this implies the need for new kinds of school system boundaries that do not separate cities from their suburbs and other fundamental, "structural" innovations. In addition, if we have truly opted for desegregation, responsible officials will at some point be forced to face the need for coercion.

The other junior high school transfer, from Jefferson to Dexter, seems to have been sabotaged less extensively, although more directly. The Jefferson principal, as has been mentioned, attempted to persuade transferred students to return to Jefferson in an apparent effort to raise the Jefferson student population so that the school would be kept open and his job would be preserved. This contrasts notably with the preceding year, when about 100 Jefferson students failed to enroll at the beginning of the fall semester and no apparent effort was made to discover their whereabouts. It would be inappropriate to attempt to generalize about elementary versus junior high school desegregation on the basis of the four schools involved, but the facts of differential success in implementation remain. No evidence is available concerning this aspect of the more extensive desegregation effort undertaken the following year.

On the basis of the 1964 experience, it would have been reasonable to conclude that attempts to desegregate by assigning white youngsters to predominantly Negro schools tend to encounter greater opposition than the reverse procedure. The 1966 experience suggests that this may no longer be the case: "black power" demands matched those of "white power" in intensity if not in terms of official authority. Perhaps unfortunately, however, this political reality may conflict with the goal of equality of educational opportunity for all. Public schools in slum areas, particularly Negro slum areas, seem to be doing an inadequate job at best, and their staffs and students alike seem to be increasingly demoralized. This suggests the possibility that such schools might best be closed and their staffs and students, dispersed. If achieving desegregation were to increase the number of poorly educated youngsters in our cities, it would be a hollow victory indeed. From this point of view, it may be regrettable that pressures to keep schools like Hayes open have emerged among Negro groups and their supporters. The critical question in this context seems to be whether we know how (or can learn) and have the will to make these schools capable of providing quality

education. The price will undoubtedly involve heavily vested career interests as well as dollars.

Compensatory education programs have, of course, been instituted in many slum schools in an effort to upgrade educational services. One of these, the Jefferson Project, has been watched closely since its implementation in Centerline. A detailed analysis of this program is beyond the scope of the present report, but there seems to be no evidence that it resulted in significantly more effective education in the schools involved. While there may be no short run alternative to such palliatives in large cities, this is not the case in Centerline. More to the point, these programs may retard integration by providing an "excuse"--in effect, the "separate but equal" rationale no longer accepted by the courts. The contention that the Jefferson Project did the job of upgrading education in disadvantaged areas does seem to have impeded early negotiations on the de facto school segregation problem in Centerline. In addition, compensatory programs may create new sub-bureaucracies with a vested interest in continued de facto segregation by race or by social class. There does seem to be evidence that the officials of the Jefferson Project worked against massive desegregation and, even in public statements, favored the old status quo. Their expressed rationale was the same as that used by many white parents in opposing integration--concern for Negro youngsters who would not be "ready" to confront a new social group holding different standards of behavior and academic achievement--although they did become involved in planning for the change once its direction was clear.¹

This argument contains a germ of truth, enough to make it attractive to those seeking excuses and delays. Slum youngsters may not be "ready" to attend higher achieving, "middle class" schools, but it seems likely that they will never be ready until they make the confrontation. What is needed is special help--a wide spectrum of compensatory services--for school personnel and youngsters alike that will enable the newcomers to cope better with and to succeed in their new setting when it is a predominantly middle class one.

¹Even those middle class white citizens who are genuinely concerned that Negro children will be hurt in this process may be victims of an unconscious projection. Indeed, many whites might not succeed if the tables were turned, since they have had relatively little experience adapting to the standards, values, and demands of populations other than their own. The Negro child, on the other hand, has had to learn to do so. If he can exercise this ability while firmly establishing his personal integrity in predominantly middle class schools, our entire society will be the richer.

Mention has been made above of the more fundamental changes, necessarily involving organization as well as personnel, that are needed to make inner city schools equivalent in quality to those in more affluent neighborhoods. Of course, the campus plans or educational parks being developed in various communities have their special requirements as well.

It is interesting to note that most attempts to woo school desegregation advocates in Centerline were based on pragmatic rather than philosophical-moral arguments. The appeal was to desegregate not because it was "right" but because, for example, Negro youngsters "learn better and faster" in biracial classrooms without slowing down their white classmates. As one expression of this emphasis, most of those concerned with the preparation of the 1965 plan--school officials, the Education Committee, and CORE--sought "evidence" to back their positions, preferably evidence from the 1964 experience in Centerline. In addition, CORE attempted to marshal data and "expert" opinion in support of its contention that widespread busing and frequent changes of school would not be harmful to the youngsters involved.¹ The staff of this project was consulted in the spring of 1965 by several representatives of the primary groups involved in their search for evidence. Subsequently, statements of support for the program were made in public meetings, by the press, and elsewhere that were explicitly based on nonexistent, spurious, or falsely interpreted data. Some of those involved seemed almost desperate for such support and, unable to accept the time price of careful research, grasped at straws. This is an area of concern that should be carefully considered by educational practitioners and researchers alike.

It seems clear that the 1964 plan was one phase in a process, a preparatory step and, at least as far as the protest groups were concerned, an essential precedent. Significant progress occurred the following year, and there was a marked reaction in 1966. What will happen in the 1967-68 school year remains to be seen, but it seems appropriate at this juncture to review and evaluate the past three years in terms of the six specific steps to which the Board committed itself in its mid-1963 policy statement formally establishing racial balance as a factor² to be considered in making student assignments to particular schools.

¹CORE's position was viewed by some as being contradictory, since CORE attempted at the same time to show that busing is harmless and to maintain that busing Negroes only is discriminatory.

²This statement is quoted in full on pages 83-85.

The Board pledged itself to work with the Education Committee and to consider its proposals seriously; the evidence suggests that the Board has generally done so despite some recent slippage that may be due as much to the passage of time, the changing nature of the protest, and the changing role of the Committee as to any basic change in the Board's position. The second point, establishment of racial balance as a factor to be considered, was also generally observed. The snag that developed in 1966 reflected not only the new influences on the Board, but also the changed demands and organization of the protesters.

Two other points concerned the school system's responsibility to communicate with and to orient its internal and external constituencies regarding the problem and steps taken toward its solution. Efforts made in this direction have been detailed above. In general, it seems fair to say that these were characterized by reaction rather than initiative (or "preventive medicine") on the part of school officials; little effort seems to have been made to educate those who would be affected directly or indirectly except after the need became apparent. On the other hand, as has already been described, the Superintendent made every effort within the limits of his endurance to interpret the situation whenever the need arose. Unfortunately, while he had some dedicated help from key Board members, there was apparently ill-concealed opposition from some of his administrative lieutenants that made the job harder for him.¹

The final two points in the Board's policy statement concerned the involvement of school district personnel in the planning process and the assignment of some of the specifics in this area (e.g., special services and teacher orientation) to the staff of the Jefferson Project. The role actually played by the Jefferson Project is detailed in Section Two of this report but, in general, it seems apparent that the school system failed to implement these two points as effectively as it might have despite the Superintendent's impressive personal efforts. This does seem to have made the necessary adjustments more difficult for all concerned and may have been a further reflection of the evident lack of support for desegregation among some of the Superintendent's high level staff.

¹The original refusal to recognize the problem or the protesters, the closing of Peterson, the designation of Tyler as the receiving school for children bused from Hayes, and apparent foot-dragging on both the school census and the preparation of the initial plan may be cited as possibly attributable, at least in part, to the apparent antipathy of some of the school system's top officials toward desegregation.

Probably as a result of the school system's failure to take sufficient initiative as a whole in internal or external communication, in involvement of those concerned in planning, and in orientation, fears and rumors too often gained headway and probably became doubly difficult to handle. It might be noted that inadequate communication seems to have plagued the situation throughout. Had the school system made an effort to understand and confront the protest from the beginning, the early picketing and the first boycott might have been avoided. Failures of communication between the Board and the Education Committee are documented above. A conclusion that seems to emerge is that problems or potential problems that are ignored tend to expand, at least in many cases. Resistance to small grievances tends to result in the development of larger ones that cannot be ignored.

Although Centerline is a relatively small city, it seems abundantly clear after four years of direct attention that a generally satisfactory solution to the problem of de facto segregation in the public schools remains a long way off. In some ways, positions have solidified on all sides. The effects of such factors as the campus plan, urban renewal, and migration to the suburbs remain to be seen. Among major problems still to be resolved are the eventual role of busing (particularly busing from predominantly white neighborhoods) and the educational potential of schools located in the inner city, although the campus plan would probably handle both. The early steps may have helped to delineate what is and is not feasible, although the effects of shifting conditions, positions, and emotions must always be taken into account in making such estimates. Undoubtedly, however, more could have been done than has been; much of the community's leadership seems to be unwilling to stretch its political capacity beyond the minimum on behalf of its disadvantaged minority groups.

At the May, 1966, public meeting of the Board (where the plan to close Hayes was finally tabled pending its abandonment), a concerned inner city Negro mother astutely told the Board one reason why school desegregation was vital to her in approximately these words: "My child needs middle class, white classmates for insurance, insurance that he will have the same educational opportunity as middle class, white children in this city!" The political solution--desegregation--is, of course, only half the battle. Real integration will require increasing positive efforts within the schools to establish a climate of interpersonal respect and to meet the varying developmental needs of all youngsters involved. The following sections of this report examine the 1964 plan from this point of view and, insofar as is possible, explores its educational outcomes.

SECTION TWO -- THE DEMONSTRATION

Part Three--Special Helpers: Their Role and Function

Background and Methodology:

The fundamental premise of the demonstration as originally proposed was that integration could be facilitated by an "integration team" comprised of "human relations specialists" working with the people involved. Four such specialists were to be involved, one each to focus his attention on principals, the instructional program, the social behavior of pupils, and community concerns including those of parents. An attempt was to be made to evaluate the program systematically using newly desegregated schools judged to be similar, but without the special services, as comparison settings. The proposed evaluation proved not to be feasible when the school system's desegregation plans were finalized, however, since potentially appropriate comparison settings were not included. As a result, it was decided by the project directors and the funding agencies that only an informal, descriptive assessment of the demonstration could realistically be attempted. As will be seen, the organization and functioning of the team was later changed significantly, but an excerpt from the Office of Education contract describing the original plan in detail is reproduced as Appendix A to this report for readers who may wish to review the evolution of the program from the beginning.

The work of the integration specialists is reported here in three parts: the developing organization of the intervention program, culminating in the final report of the team's administrator; the substance of the work of team members; and an attempt to draw conclusions and implications for future work. The reader may find it particularly profitable to examine the material that follows in terms of two issues beyond the specific content of the special services. First, the ways in which other parts of the system facilitated and impeded the work of the specialists may have had at least as much to do with their impact as did the substance of their work. Second, the more philosophical question of whether the designation of personnel as "integration specialists" implicitly focuses undue attention on potential problems seems worthy of attention.

Except where indicated to the contrary, this section has been prepared by the senior author of the report assisted by Lloyd M. Sundblad. Necessarily a largely descriptive and sometimes impressionistic review, it is based primarily on informal observation as well as on interviews conducted by Mr. Sundblad and the senior author with team members and others who were directly involved. The authors are grateful to the four team members and two principals who contributed generously of their time to be interviewed. Chapter Four is based largely on a report by Kermit B. Nash, one of the members of the team.

Chapter Three

The Evolving Organization of the Integration Team in the School System

The demonstration program was originally viewed as an extension of the Jefferson Project, a local, largely foundation-funded compensatory education program described above, and was to use many of the same procedures and techniques. The Director of the Jefferson Project, who was appointed by the school system to serve as its Director of Special Projects and was Co-Director of the current project, was scheduled to direct the demonstration and to administer and supervise the "integration team" which was its operating unit. Staffing of the team seems to have begun early in June, 1964, when two school psychologists and a school social worker from the Jefferson Project were offered the opportunity of serving on the integration team in the fall, and all agreed to do so. Apparently, Jefferson Project funds were rapidly being depleted, and the desegregation project provided a way in which the services of these three individuals could be retained. One of them reports that,

. . . when this team was originally conceived, and none of the team members had anything to do with this . . . , the original thinking was that there were four publics: there was the larger community, there was the school administration, there were the classroom teachers, and then there was the student body. They were trying to find one person who would be a specialist in providing services or articulating the project with respect to each of these four populations. I don't think they seriously tried to recruit people in terms of these qualifications. I don't think the three of us were ever in competition with anyone else. I don't think they ever published these openings and screened people according to the criteria.

Implicit in this mode of selection was a change in the planned division of labor, since neither an administrative specialist nor an instructional specialist was included among the three, and only one position remained to be filled. A talented instructional consultant who had been expected to serve as a key member of the

team was then given another assignment by the Special Projects Director, thus further vitiating the original plan. Apparently, one of the school psychologists was viewed as a potential instructional specialist, since he had expressed an interest in working with teachers and trying to introduce some psychological concepts into the curriculum.

The three team members selected first report that there was a great deal of confusion about their new role and function during this period, which culminated in a luncheon meeting with the Special Projects Director.¹ He asked them how they would feel about the appointment of the Jefferson Junior High School vice principal as the fourth member of the unit, apparently to serve as its administrator as well as the "administrative specialist," who would work most closely with principals. While any attempt to reconstruct events such as these after the fact must be regarded as subject to some distortion, it seems clear that all three objected to the prospect of working with and, particularly, "for" the individual involved. The following excerpts from an interview with one of the team members may help to illuminate the feelings involved:

Then [Special Projects Director], one noon, took the three of us to lunch . . . and asked us what we would think of [Jefferson Junior High vice principal] as a fourth member of the team. There was silence . . . and I was the only one at the moment who was bold enough to say that I thought it would be the worst mistake he could ever make. The others then began to support me, and we went to some length trying to explain why and that we weren't just trying to blackball him or anything like that. [Director] kept pushing us and asking whether we would be able to work with him. I volunteered that I would try but didn't think it would be a very productive kind of relationship.

¹The title "Special Projects Director" refers to the individual who directed the Jefferson Project, was Co-Director in charge of the demonstration phase of the present project, and was appointed to the post of Director of Special Projects by the school system. This designation should help the reader distinguish him and the other Co-Director of the project, who was primarily responsible for the research aspects of this project and is frequently referred to herein as "the writer."

[Interviewer: Why?] Well, not so much in terms of not liking him personally, but the kinds of things we had observed about him in his dealings with teachers, principals, and the kids. Two of us had been in the same school with him, and we had been battling all year long in terms of policy and procedure and ways of handling kids. He was a very bad manic, very rigid, very closed. He was more white middle class than white middle class and just wasn't able to relate with sensitivity and understanding to these kids. . . .¹

[Interviewer: Such as?] Such as paddling kids. He would have a whole room full of kids after school for daily paddling. Such as coming in when he was introduced at the beginning of the year and telling children, "I hope I don't see you because if I see you that means you're in trouble." Just going into the situation with a chip-on-the-shoulder, trying to impose rigid values on kids. Wanting the very best for the youngsters, but having no idea how to motivate the kids to want the things that he wanted them to have. At every point in the road he was antagonizing kids and was making enemies. He just had no sensitivity, no sensitivity at all. Rigid, dogmatic, militaristic, authoritarian kind of person. Most of the kids hated his guts.

[Interviewer: What about with teachers?] Not so much that he had a particular problem with teachers, but he was not the kind of person who was sensitive to the problems of the kids so that he could offer good consultation to teachers and principals who were having to work with them. . . .

The feeling I had was that [the Special Projects Director] had already decided that [vice principal] was his boy, and that he was just trying to get us to support his decision. So as it turned

¹The person being discussed is a Negro, and the "kids" referred to are predominantly inner city, disadvantaged Negro junior high school students.

out, he was appointed and, insofar as the three of us could gather, there were three good reasons why he was chosen. One, he was Negro and they needed another Negro. Two, [Special Projects Director] had brought him from [another city] specifically to be vice principal of [Jefferson Junior High]. They just didn't want him there, not even the principal wanted him. So they had to get him out of the situation. Everyone knew it was bad, but [Special Projects Director] felt some obligation to him, I think, and he needed a Negro, as I said, and this was a way of killing two birds with one stone.

Thus, the selection of the team was completed during the summer, and its four members held a few planning meetings in preparation for the opening of school in the fall. At the end of the summer, the administrative specialist is reported to have told his colleagues that "he thought he was going to have more trouble getting along with us." Also toward the end of the summer, the Special Projects Director, who seems not to have participated with the team in its summer planning sessions, announced his resignation and that he would be leaving in about a month. The team was, at this point, left totally on its own, seemingly responsible to no one beyond itself and an understandably busy superintendent of schools. The administrative specialist apparently perceived himself also as the administrator of the team and now in more complete control, but the other three team members did not and would not accord him this status. The resulting friction, perhaps aggravated by the Special Projects Director's departure, continued to plague the team throughout the year.

By the time the schools opened in September, the team had formally discarded the division of labor described in the original proposal and reproduced in Appendix A.¹ Instead, each specialist except the administrator was to work primarily in one school, calling on his colleagues for help as needed. The administrator was to work with the principals and, at least nominally, to "administer" the team. As a result, no special services were made available to Gilbert School. The new division of labor reflected the fact that the team members had not been selected in accordance with the proposal, the fact that they personally pre-

¹This was the plan according to which one specialist each would have concentrated on administrative problems, instructional techniques, adjustment problems, and parental and community relationships in all the schools involved.

ferred not to work together, and the absence of any orientation and supervision in terms of the projected plan as well as their own judgment about how they might work most effectively. A team member recalls that after the early summer luncheon meeting described above,

. . . we didn't ever see [Special Projects Director]. He was never in any of our planning sessions. He never gave us any direction, and I can't remember him meeting with the team once. He never tried to outline to us and describe to us what was the initial intent of the team. Nothing. No direction, no support, nothing. It was just the four of us.

[Interviewer: Did you have copies of the original proposal?] I think some copies were handed out, but there was no attempt to interpret them or to work with us in developing the ideas. So we looked to ourselves . . . the three of us, primarily. [The Administrator] was there, but . . . he just wasn't in the dynamics of it. We looked to ourselves and to our own strengths and we looked at the schools we were going to be serving and the needs that we had come to know as a result of working in this kind of situation . . . and decided that the initial team notion just wasn't workable.

[Interviewer: There was no one with whom this was cleared?] Oh, [Special Projects Director] knew what we were about. It wasn't a case of his thinking that we were going on with the old team thing. He just didn't care, wasn't interested . . . didn't have any strong commitment to the first team notion. . . .

One cannot say at this juncture that the original proposal was more or less tenable than the structure that evolved, but it is clear that the projected plan was never implemented and, consequently, not tested.

The Office of Education's advisory panel apparently felt from the beginning that the services scheduled to be implemented in the schools had not been adequately detailed in the proposal, since one of two qualifications on which approval was contingent is recorded as follows:

Carefully detail the instructional modus operandi in the first quarterly report. This will assure the panel that appropriate attention has been given to the instructional phase of the study.

As has been noted, the Special Projects Director (the project co-director who was responsible for the work of the team) resigned early in the school year, leaving the team itself with the job of meeting this requirement, since no replacement had yet been found. Such a statement was not submitted by the due date, November 30, 1964, nor, as such, at a later date. The first report of the progress of the demonstration, prepared by the team administrator in December, is reproduced in this report as Appendix B. Appendix C includes samples of the logs prepared by members of the team each week, at least early in the year, to report on their work. These materials were all included in the progress report submitted to the funding agencies in February, 1965, in support of the request for continuation support.

As is noted above, the other co-director (the writer) and the staff working with him were responsible for the research. This group tried from the beginning to establish close liaison with the demonstration team and tried to lend support when it became clear that the team was getting virtually no orientation or other help from the school system itself. The need was obvious, and most members of the integration team actively sought support, help, and understanding from the research group. Orientation and supervision could not be provided by the researchers, however, in view of their primary role in the situation, which was to assess the overall program and its results. Had the responsible co-director stayed, selected team members, and provided guidance within the context of the originally proposed plan, a tenable structure could, perhaps, have been evolved that would have tested it. The structure that did develop, however, may have been at least equally effective and instructive.

A joint research-demonstration team seminar to which all involved school personnel were invited and a periodic project newsletter were established early in the school year at the suggestion of a senior member of the research staff in an effort to facilitate communication and liaison and to give the team at least moral support without compromising the integrity of the research. Most of the impetus, planning, and work involved in these efforts came from the research group, and the effort soon became too great in view of the group's primary responsibilities and the competing needs of the team. A team member recalls that the senior members of the research group tried to provide leadership

. . . once the leadership was gone because of

[Special Projects Director's] departure. An "in-house study group" which included the observers . . . , those of us who were on the team, and all the principals was developed. I think two principals came once. It then turned into a series of presentations of research articles, largely for the benefit of those who were integration-oriented either as observers or as team members. In fact, [the senior researchers] ceased coming themselves, which didn't add the kind of imagery that made it an ongoing thing. There were a few good meetings, and then it petered out at the end of the first semester.

He went on to say that the seminars might have contributed to role definition and effectiveness had everyone attended regularly but that

. . . the "in-group" members of the team often felt that this was just symptomatic of the lack of real commitment on the part of the public school principals or the central administration. This [the desegregation program] was a token effort to placate CORE and other pressure groups. [In addition,] the principals were not well fed with the kind of information that we were guilty of not providing them. I won't deny that there were [certain individuals in the central administration] who made it very difficult to work with them in this regard. It is my honest opinion that we were unable to implement the kinds of things that we knew needed to be done . . . and . . . could have been done.

When the Special Projects Director left, the writer anticipated that a new Director of Special Projects would be named shortly by the school system and would assume the co-directorship of the project along with direct responsibility for the demonstration phase, the work of the integration specialists. It soon became apparent, however, that the school system was mounting an extensive and possibly long-term effort to recruit the best available person for the assignment. This approach reflected the increasing scope of the position and the needs created by emerging programs of federal and other aid for special projects, but it inevitably left the team without leadership and in a state of heightened conflict and confusion. The specialists continued to operate and, at least in some cases, to make effective contribu-

tions in the schools, but the group never "jelled," either conceptually or functionally. One specialist recalls that,

We were never able to define any objectives, but we did agree generally (way back in the summer) that we would try to play the role of enablers, where we would try and avoid giving direct services to kids. . . . We would rather try and work with the guidance counselors, the vice principals, the teachers, etc., and help them to handle the situations and problems, and support them, giving them some direction, some advice, some know-how, and generally trying to be an enabler. We used to joke about getting blazers with a little emblem on the pocket, "The Enablers." We were also considering black and white checkered jackets. We never had a package of services which we were able to take into the school and explain to the principal and the teachers. For the most part, we were continuing to function in the professional roles for which we had been trained. _____ was simply a social worker at [Dexter Junior High School] with a sensitivity for the integration needs but functioning as a social worker when trying to meet these needs. More or less, _____ and I functioned as school psychologists, trying to relate to these needs. We were never able to define the role of an integration specialist. We were simply social workers and psychologists working on problems that arose as a result of the integration program. I didn't feel that we really had a focus. I know that _____ did some great work at [Dexter], the same work he would have done had he been a social worker in that school.

When it became clear that a new Director of Special Projects would not be available soon and that the demonstration part of the project needed help, the writer asked the Superintendent of Schools to become co-director and to designate one of his assistants to handle project liaison, supervision, and other necessary details. This arrangement seemed best, since it would provide the faltering demonstration with the Superintendent's stature and the active leadership of a senior member of his staff who, presumably, would have more time for this purpose. The Superintendent agreed, and he delegated one of his top assistants to assume

direct responsibility for the integration unit and for liaison with the research team.

This arrangement was also designed to alleviate confusion about the role of the integration team that had begun to filter back to the central administration of the school system from the schools involved. In particular, one of the principals had complained that the roles of the integration specialists were ill-defined and that their lines of accountability were unclear. That this concern was well founded seems confirmed by the following response of one of the integration specialists when he was asked, "After [the Special Projects Director] left, whom did you work for?"

. . . We asked ourselves that question during the fall and after [Special Projects Director] left, but it really never was too important to us because we were doing what we had been doing all the time and because he had never played any role in this team. So we didn't need him and we didn't miss him until we reached a point where we needed an official approval or a signature or something. So with [Special Projects Director] gone, we looked to [Assistant Superintendent] who was appointed as a temporary person.

The designated Assistant Superintendent arranged to meet with the writer and the four integration specialists promptly after he had been given administrative responsibility for the team. A member of the team recalls that this meeting occurred

. . . in December, when [Special Projects Director] had left and we needed to find out who our leader was and no one seemed to know. Scuttlebutt started circulating down at the Board of Education that this team wasn't doing what they were supposed to be doing and everyone was operating as an individual and so on. [Assistant Superintendent] got shaken up because he found out that he was the one who was supposed to be giving us supervision, so he called us all down and we sat there and went around the circle and told him what we were doing. He ended up by saying that he was quite impressed and quite pleased to hear about it as he felt we were doing very much the

kinds of things that were relevant and that we weren't going in four different directions... . . . He also tried to clarify some of the administrative requirements of the school district and mentioned that we weren't working at a university, that we had to check in at 8:10 a.m., and this kind of thing, and play it by the book.

One outcome of this meeting was that the three specialists other than the team administrator were asked to check in and out daily with the principal's office at the school with which each was most closely associated and to notify the principal of any plans to be absent from the building during the school day. Thus, while the specialists retained relative autonomy in their work, they became more closely linked administratively to the schools in which they were working. The combined administrative specialist and team administrator was, as a consequence, even further removed from direct contact with the other team members and the schools. He continued to hold team meetings, to receive weekly "logs" from each specialist and to prepare his own, and to visit the school buildings. Apparently, however, the meetings and his school visits gradually became less frequent, and the logs became increasingly perfunctory and some were not submitted at all. Other team members indicate that much of his time during the spring semester was devoted to graduate courses at the local university and relatively little to his job. Apparently, they preferred it this way, and no one else involved (including the writer) seems to have realized what was happening.

The descriptions of their work given by the specialists at the meeting just mentioned could well have provided a sound basis for the preparation of the then already overdue detailed statement of the instructional modus operandi which had been requested by the Office of Education, as is discussed above. There was no follow-through on this, however, and no such statement was submitted except what appeared in the February, 1965, progress report. This included Appendix B, as is mentioned above, as well as a summary of the role descriptions given at the meeting. The summary is reproduced in Chapter Four of the current report, which explores what the specialists did in and for the schools in which they worked.

During the winter, the Board of Education worked on its plans for additional desegregation to take place the following year. The team was invited to attend a few of the Board's closed "study sessions," apparently largely to report on its work and to recommend how special services for newly desegregated youngsters might best be organized in the future. Most of the specialists ex-

pressed resentment at the fact that they were involved only at this point, however, instead of when the decisions about which schools and pupils would be desegregated were made. They felt that they were being brought in merely to affirm that the program had been an academic success and to "rubber stamp" new plans and requests for more specialists rather than as consultants. In the words of one of them,

In effect, the central staff was using us to support what they were trying to say to the Board of Education.

Apparently on its own initiative, however, the team did prepare and submit a "working paper" offering its suggestions for improvement in the Board's proposals for further desegregation and associated special services.

Later, the team was given the task of assigning the children who were to be desegregated the following fall to other, pre-determined schools. This was primarily a "bookkeeping" task involving the determination of the number of openings at each grade level at each host school and the assignment of children to be desegregated accordingly.

Near the end of the school year, the team was again asked to meet with the central administration. A written proposal for special services for the fall, including numbers and functions of specialists, names of schools, and numbers of pupils to be served, was distributed to the group with a request for reactions and opinions. One specialist recalls,

We were critical of this, partly because of the number of kids that were to be served by a particular number of professional staff, partly the way in which they were assigned, and partly the type of professionals they were acquiring to serve these needs. We didn't say very much, about five or ten minutes, and were trying to be reasonable and trying to help. We didn't go in with a "chip on our shoulders" and start tearing their plan apart, but we were trying to respond to their questions as constructively as we could. We were quickly shut off, the plan that had already been developed was rationalized, . . . we were asked no more, and that was the last meeting we ever had. We were never involved throughout the entire

year as a team to serve as consultants to the central staff in developing their program of services for the next year's integration effort.

It is not known what consideration, if any, was given to the recommendations presented by the team in its "working paper" cited above.

These events seemed to trigger increased apathy toward the job and increased antagonism toward the school system on the part of the team. To some extent, personal and professional differences were submerged in shared feelings of frustration and disillusion. All four specialists had decided by early spring that they would probably leave the school system at the end of the school year, and all were actively seeking new positions. Perhaps this common interest along with the knowledge that the year was ending allowed them to accept one another more fully; in any case, there seemed to be some lessening of tension among the team members during the last part of the school year. Even this, however, was negative in that it was a unity born of shared feelings of frustration and antagonism toward what most of them perceived as the ineptness and/or bad faith of the school system.

The continuation of some form of special services in desegregated schools had become a political obligation of the school system and the Board of Education, since the presumed availability of such services to all pupils in the schools involved was one plank in the campaign for parental and public acceptance of the new desegregation plan. There seemed to be an implicit assumption that the U. S. Office of Education would fund this program, as is reflected in the following statement made by one of the specialists:

It all started with the [Jefferson Project], with [the former Special Projects Director] and the initial impetus that he had given to this, and they kept going and saw themselves getting some Federal money. But they were never able to get it through their heads that Cooperative Research at the U. S. Office [of Education] wasn't interested in funding action projects but . . . in research. Now if there had been some special kind of action project connected with research, that would have been all right, but once they [Office of Education] had gotten the research part of it completed, they weren't interested in perpetuating it.

There were people who could never understand this, and they pledged that they were going to have these integration teams and all this kind of thing to the people. It wasn't until June or July before they realized that the U. S. Office wasn't going to fund more integration teams. It wasn't so much that they were sold on the concept of the integration team as it had originally been set forth as it was conveying to the public that they were trying to provide some assistance and supportive service. It sounded good and was a strong selling point for [the Board of Education's new plan].

As the end of the year approached and it became clear that outside funds for integration specialists would not be available in the fall, the school system approached three of the four team members with offers of other positions in the system. All declined and moved on to other jobs. The team administrator was retained for about six weeks after school stopped, however, to prepare a final report on the team and its work for the school system and the funding agencies. This document, which was to have been the only formal report on the demonstration, follows in its entirety and concludes the description of the life cycle of the team.

YEAR END REPORT

Integration Unit, Centerline Public Schools, 1964-65

Introduction

In order to meet and attempt to resolve the problem of racial imbalance within the city's public schools, the Board of Education, through a contract with the National Institute of Mental Health, initiated an experimental program designed to explore and study the perplexing question. This initial year of exploration has vividly indicated the magnitude of the problem and its devastating effect upon the total community. The ill effect of segregation and discrimination permeates the entire fabric of our society; consequently, the problem must be viewed as a community responsibility and not merely an educational dilemma.

Nevertheless, the school, as a vital and dynamic social institution, has a very crucial role to play in effecting a solution to the difficulty.

Our pilot project has not uncovered any panacea for this social disease, but the experiences and insights gained thus far can be applied to the more comprehensive program that is anticipated for the coming year.

It is evident that the problems of human relations demand and require the attention of all. The attack on this enemy of society must be the combined effort of every man, woman and child in the community. This element of combined effort requires, in my judgment, the school to become a focal point of activity. The very nature of the school and its significant position within the structure of the community dictates and prescribes its vital function in this area of endeavor. If we can make the school a "laboratory for democratic living" then, many of the conflicts associated with human relations will melt under the pressure of the democratic process. Accordingly, the school must accept its role and meet the obligation with all the force and power necessary to establish this condition.

The experimental program initiated this year by the [Centerline] Board of Education is geared toward developing an educational structure that will reflect in a more positive and realistic fashion our democratic way of life. The end is not in sight, but a beginning has been made. Progress in this effort must continue despite some conflict and some rise of emotional feeling. It is my belief, along with many others, that social change cannot be accomplished without some discomfort and some conflict. Therefore, it becomes the task of the change agents to minimize the discomfort and the conflict but not to ignore and disregard the desired change. If we can accept this as a guiding principle, then we can structure our schools in such a manner as to depict and convey the principles and concepts of a real and meaningful democracy. The city of [Centerline] is moving in that direction.

The Unit's Role and Function

The objective of the integration unit and of the integration program was clear and specific. It was to implement the Board's integration policy and to facilitate the assimilation of minority group children with majority group children within the schools of the city. Although the objective was clear, the role of the integration unit and how it would accomplish this objective was quite vague and obscure. Nevertheless, with the aid of "An Implementation Frame of Reference," which the unit developed, an operational tool was made available which enabled the unit to sharply define its role and to determine desirable avenues of approach to the problem. Consequently, the "Implementation Frame of Reference" became the guide and the operational foundation of the unit.

As the year evolved, it became apparent that the function of the unit was fundamentally that of providing counseling and consulting services to the four publics with which it was directly concerned; namely, the teachers, the children, the administrators, and the parents. In my judgment, these two services are the most significant and the most effective means available to us to establish a foundation for the development of real integration. The emotional quality of integration demands that a feeling of understanding and trust be established between people. Therefore, the services cited above become primary considerations for the creation of this kind of an atmosphere.

Through these two specific services the integration specialists functioned and interacted with various members of the four publics in order to enhance the integration effort.

1. The specialist helped teachers:
 - a. to understand and respect children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds
 - b. to broaden their frame of reference in regard to these children and to reduce or eliminate age old stereotypes

- c. to establish rapport with minority group children and "disadvantaged youngsters"
 - d. to provide additional educational services for these students that would enable them to overcome the devastating effects of racial bigotry and inferior education.
2. The specialist helped students:
- a. to adjust and adapt to the new situation
 - b. to gain some form of identity and a sense of worthiness
 - c. to accept and respect other people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds
 - d. to overcome the handicap of an inferior educational background.
3. The specialist helped administrators:
- a. to understand and respect children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds
 - b. to make more enlightened educational decisions regarding these youngsters
 - c. to establish effective communication with the parents of these youngsters
 - d. to provide a more suitable school structure and climate for the assimilation of these students.
4. The specialist helped parents:
- a. to understand and interpret the program
 - b. to recognize their role in integration

- c. to establish communication with the school
- d. to become more involved in school matters.

It is through these kinds of meaningful and constructive activities that progress toward real and total integration can be accomplished.

Issues and Problems

De facto segregated education remains a menacing problem in [Centerline] the same as it remains a heated issue in many urban areas throughout the United States. However, as a result of the action of numerous citizen groups and the judicial decisions of the courts, educators and the general public have recognized the necessity to eliminate this type of educational program. An awareness of this need is evident in [Centerline]. Nevertheless, serious and obstinate handicaps are present which can delay and possibly prohibit the execution of an effective program aimed at the elimination of de facto segregated education.

Our experiences this year have shown that in order for an integration program to be effective, specific requirements must be recognized and implemented. Among these requirements are the following:

- a. recognition of the problem must be real and sincere
- b. the school system, at all levels, must be fully committed to the principle of integrated education
- c. free and open communication must be established and maintained to all segments of the community and particularly within the school structure itself
- d. community-wide preparation must be made for the change

- e. educational programs (in-service training for school personnel) must be developed and conducted for all members of the school's four publics
- f. supportive services must be provided
- g. administrative policy and decisions must be based upon the consensus of a diverse group of school personnel and this group must contain adequate minority group representation
- h. there must be complete integration of staffs, on both the professional level and the non-professional level
- i. complete support must be given to all personnel involved in the integration program and particularly to members of the integration unit who are charged specifically with the responsibility of the implementation of the program
- j. curricula must be revised, developed and implemented which will reflect democracy in action.

During this initial year of operation the integration effort has clearly indicated the desirability and the necessity for the kind of program that I have described above. Unfortunately, however, this type of program has not received the complete support of the school district. In some areas the district has met the requirement, in other areas it has given only slight recognition to the requirement and in some areas it has given only "lip service". Under these conditions the integration effort is impeded if not completely obstructed. Therefore, it is my opinion, that not withstanding the progress that has been made to date, the situation requires a greater effort and an increased involvement and commitment.

Conclusion

With a meaningful, sincere and well structured pro-

gram, it is abundantly clear that we can eliminate the blight of segregated education.

Through such a program this community can make their school system a "laboratory for democratic living". And at the risk of sounding rather euphemistic, let me say that within such an atmosphere and climate the spirit of democracy will bounce off the blackboards, leap from the textbooks and race through the corridors and classrooms of our schools. This is the solution we should want and seek.

Thus ended the team administrator's report.

Chapter Four

Special Services in the Schools: The Work of the Integration Team

Despite the structural and other problems reflected in the historical survey presented in Chapter Three, individual members of the team do seem to have functioned effectively and to have contributed significantly to the integration process and the general operation of the schools in which they worked. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the substance of what they did, particularly as it may have implications for future work in this area. Included are an overview of the team's activities (largely excerpted from the summary of the December meeting presented in the February, 1965, progress report), a description of the development of the roles of the integration specialists, and a report by one of the specialists detailing his activities.

In general, the work of the team included: (1) Consultation Services to administrators, guidance counselors, and teachers; (2) Supportive Services to youngsters, including both new arrivals and "oldtimers," usually in connection with problems related to the integration program; and (3) Parent Education, both informational and counseling services to white and Negro parents, including PTA presentations and other contacts. It seemed apparent from their descriptions of what they were doing that the integration specialists were, in addition, providing Administrative Services in connection with the integration program.

As Consultants, the integration specialists tried to help school personnel to see incoming youngsters as individuals by, for example, providing special information about them. They handled integration-related crises, freeing other personnel for regular duties, and served as a link to feed the individuals involved back into the regular program. They made referrals to the school nurse, mental health workers, or other specialists as needed. Either on their own initiative or on request, they helped to evaluate students, their learning potential, discrepancies between potential and performance, reasons for undesirable and disruptive behavior, attitudes toward school, and other relevant factors. On occasion, one integration specialist was called in by another to help in the evaluation of a particular case or situation.

The integration specialists observed in classrooms and other settings and conducted group and individual conferences with teachers to help them interpret and feel more comfortable with

the situations encountered. They attempted to help teachers to recognize and handle their own attitudes and to work more effectively with new children who frequently showed unexpected patterns of behavior (e.g., particular sensitivity to being touched and to words like "boy" and "Negress"), and who lacked expected social skills. They met with principals and others to discuss youngsters with problems, group action against one or more pupils, and such more general issues as how to translate potential problem situations into effective school programming. Attendance at curriculum and team teaching meetings was often included. In various ways, the integration specialists attempted to contribute to the effectiveness of the school program for all youngsters rather than only for newly desegregated ones. Planned visitations to other schools were also undertaken by the specialists to enable them to be more effective. They were also available to the central administration and the Board of Education as requested and, on occasion, took the initiative in making recommendations to the school system.

In their Supportive roles, the specialists attempted, through working with youngsters individually and in groups, to help both newcomers and oldtimers to handle their anxieties and fears. They tried to work out solutions before crisis points were reached and to promote positive attitudinal change among all pupils. They attempted to promote the academic orientation and achievement level of newcomers performing less well than their hosts by establishing tutoring groups, by seeing that bused children were able to get public library cards like their classmates did, and by other means. Group guidance sessions focusing on racial issues, including one case where such incidents marred a student exchange with a suburban school system, were conducted in the junior high schools. Specialists often helped elementary school newcomers found wandering, virtually lost, in the halls. Individual work with selected youngsters was directed largely toward helping them build internal controls. While the specialists did become involved in academic concerns in the schools where they were working, they seemed more concerned with fostering the development of social skills that would enable lower class students and middle class faculty to approach academic objectives more effectively together.

In working with Parents, integration specialists encountered two disparate communities--that of the parents of the "host" children and that of the parents of the newcomers. In the case of the former, it was often necessary to interpret the changes to them at length and to reassure them that the quality of their children's education need not suffer. The parents of the incoming youngsters

often had to be encouraged to become part of the new school and to see it as their own. School officials sometimes asked team members to attend and participate in meetings of parent groups concerned with future desegregation as well. Thus, the integration specialists assisted in establishing and maintaining communication and liaison between the school system and parents. The importance and success of this function was perhaps best illustrated at protest meetings where it often seemed clear that the integration specialists were respected and trusted by parents and other protesters as well as by school personnel being protested against.

One factor incidental to the integration program, its special Administrative demands, could have provided a major irritant to already overworked school personnel had not the team members been available to carry much of this load. For example, integration specialists often handled reassignment problems for youngsters who seemed unable to adjust in their new schools or who needed assignments to special classes, they arranged for the transmittal of necessary records between schools, they followed up cases of absence (from school or from the bus), forgotten lunches, and the like. Further, the specialists served as a link between the school and incoming youngsters who were lost and floundering in a new setting and needed help in coping with it. In this sense, the integration specialist may be seen as the "advocate" of the youngster who is unable, either directly or through his parents, to deal with his new school.

Despite wide personality differences, the three team members assigned to individual schools utilized similar strategies in developing, communicating, and implementing essentially similar roles. All had agreed at their summer planning sessions that their constituencies would be the schools in which they worked rather than the newly desegregated youngsters alone. This reflected the conviction that the school as an institution, rather than individual students, was the primary "client," as well as the relatively small numbers of youngsters who were desegregated. Consultative work with faculty rather than direct service to students was emphasized whenever possible.

The first task of each specialist was to establish a role for himself in the school where he was working. Since there were few, if any, direct precedents in educational practice and due to the general lack of planning and orientation efforts in this situation, the specialists found themselves largely on their own in defining their roles. Needing something to guide them, they leaned heavily on their own disciplines--primarily school psychology and social

work--as foundations for the development of the specifics. They determined what they would do and communicated it to school personnel, who were often equally unaware of the projected role of the specialists. Thus, the specialist's role was defined largely on an "action" level; the role consisted of what the specialist did. Of course, the first steps were directed toward gaining the trust, confidence and support of the school community. Much time was spent talking with teachers informally in the lounge and elsewhere, helping with lunchroom supervision, and the like. Two of the specialists seem to have been helped by the fact that they had known and established positive relationships with many of the people involved through their work in the Jefferson Project the year before.

Not unexpectedly, resistance developed among some of the regular school personnel early in the year. Attempts were made to focus the specialists' attention on students rather than on the school as a whole, and on the newly desegregated students in particular. These pressures apparently lessened during the year as the specialists were able to assume nonthreatening roles and to be helpful to teachers and others who began gradually to consult them about a variety of problems often not related to desegregation. The specialists were able, in most cases, to become accepted members of the school "family" during the course of the year. Of course, this facilitated their work with the newly desegregated youngsters as well. The administrative specialist, however, apparently appeared in the schools only occasionally, often to berate school personnel for not working toward faster desegregation. These incursions were resented by regular faculty members and integration specialists alike.

The weekly logs submitted by the specialists through at least the first semester, detailed their activities on virtually a daily basis. The complete file of logs is not included in this report because of the quantity of material involved and because they might have relatively little utility in raw form, but a sample week's log by each of the four specialists is presented in Appendix C. The specific efforts that comprised whatever success the specialists had are, however, detailed in the following report by one of them. He was directly involved and, therefore, seems to be among the best qualified to describe the "nuts and bolts" elements of the role. An overall appraisal of the demonstration follows his report and concludes this section.

Mental Health Roles in the School Integration Process¹

Kermit B. Nash

Sadie Mae Johnson strutted into her new school as a result of redistricting to achieve racial balance.

"There is too many white folks in this school for me; I wanta go back." Dressed in her chuckka boots, tight skirt, and teased hair, Sadie continued: "Look at that white girl over there watchin' me. I'll beat her butt if she don't stop."

"Shh, they'll hear," hissed Clara.

"I don't care, don't want to be here in the first place," declared Sadie.

"The folks downtown said this is where we have to go, and there ain't nothing we can do about it," Clara purred.

Willie Lee, his hair freshly processed, asked as he passed, "What you babes talkin' 'bout?"

"Being in this school," snapped Sadie.

"It don't matter to me, I'll be 16 next month anyway, and I can quit," retorted Willie.

"There goes Beverly; look at her talking to those white girls!" snorted Clara.

"She thinks and acts like she's white anyway--just because she gets high marks," quipped Sadie.

"Move along; no congregating in the halls," said Mr. Marks, principal of Dexter Junior High School. "We don't do this sort of thing in our school." Mr. Marks turned to the Integration Specialist standing beside him and stated: "I don't know what parents will think; I understand these children will fight. Look at the size of that one; she looks like a tough one."

Mr. Johnson, the Integration Specialist, called Clara over and introduced her to the new principal. In the midst of this,

¹This paper was presented at the Meetings of the American Orthopsychiatric Association in Washington, D.C., March 22, 1967.

Miss Morris, the guidance counselor, approached, saying to the Integration Specialist, "One of your children doesn't want to be here and has requested a transfer. Would you handle this?"

"How does this usually work?" asked Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Marks commented on the usual procedure for transfer. Mr. Johnson wondered why it could not be handled in this manner. The principal agreed as they moved along to the auditorium. A student who greeted Mr. Marks wondered who Mr. Johnson was. The principal answered, "He will help the new students."

What would the role be of the mental health person acting as an Integration Specialist in implementing the decision to change? Would it be services exclusively for the incoming students? This undefined area, without operational procedure, caused considerable concern throughout the school system and the community, and the mental health person was left free to develop a role. The integration program was a joint endeavor between the Centerline City School District and Syracuse University, funded by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Mental Health. The University handled the research aspect, and the four-member integration team implemented the program for school integration. Three team members were assigned to three different schools: one elementary and two junior high schools. The fourth team member was the administrator of the unit.

The receiving junior high school, in this instance, had a total population of 590 students, including 40 who traveled from the inner city. An additional 24 had moved to the area as a result of urban renewal. Prior to this time, there had been few Negro students, some of whom came from middle class families. The school enjoyed a reputation of high scholastic achievement, reflecting a middle class community. Apprehension and anxiety were high, as some degree of trouble was feared if not expected. The feeling was that extra services would be needed to facilitate the adjustment of the incoming students. Guidance personnel and a part-time remedial reading teacher represented the only specialized help available in the building. Later, a visiting teacher (a social worker) was added on a part-time basis. Other specialized help, such as a psychologist, was available on request; the only testing done was through central administration.

With his focus on the institution, the Integration Specialist (or mental health person) concentrated on building a relationship with the principal. It was the principal who set the attitudinal climate for the school and served as a model for teachers to follow. The mental health person, through early recognition of the

principal's fears and stereotyped thinking, was able to be supportive. This tactical maneuver was an attempt to allay the principal's fears in order that he might be more helpful to his teachers and students. Whenever the principal made a negative remark regarding a student who was passing by, the student was called over and introduced in an effort to individualize the child. During the first few weeks, the mental health person spent most of his time in or near the front office cultivating relationships with the administrative and office personnel. He also spent time walking through the halls and "being cordial," thinking that eventually acceptance by the principal would create the potential atmosphere for working with other school personnel.

The Integration Specialist also made concrete suggestions about how to handle situations such as individual parents who might be angry or represent a threat to school personnel. Initially, there were many demonstration type interviews with parents and children. A discussion focused on the specifics of interviewing and on the facilitation of a better understanding of the incoming children. As the year progressed, the mental health person participated less frequently in these interviews.

No frontal attacks were initially made on teachers because the principal was defensive of his staff. As a positive relationship between the "Specialist" and the principal evolved, the principal began to introduce the subject of his teachers' attitudes. Particular questions were raised by the principal for discussion, at which times constructive suggestions were made by the mental health person. It was characteristic of the principal to utilize incessant word play in full view of the office personnel about the mental health person's affinity with words. He further suggested that one day the "Specialist" would be "Commissioner of Integration out of Washington, D.C." In the beginning, many of his comments could be viewed as hostile toward the integration endeavor but, as the year progressed and he became more comfortable with the situation, there was less banter.

The vice principal, who handled most of the discipline, was cordial but nonreceptive. Because of his long experience with children, he felt he knew most of the answers. Assistance was not offered until he made the request. A request was ultimately made when a particular youngster was late several times. It was the feeling of the school that there were home problems. Immediate follow-up was made on all matters concerning attendance and tardiness, which the school viewed as representing important values. A home visit was made for an assessment of the factors involved and how this might affect this student's attitude and feeling

towards school. Following this, the vice principal and the "Specialist" engaged in long discussions related to matters of discipline. The vice principal wanted concrete suggestions but seemed unable to follow through until he had had first-hand experience.

On one occasion, he put his hand on a boy's shoulder and the boy turned, prepared to fight. He had been advised not to put his hands on the children. This often triggers a physical action response in children and, particularly, lower class children frequently respond with assaultive action, characteristic of their life style. As time moved on, the vice principal requested the appearance of the "Specialist" for parent conferences in which the latter's usual role was that of mediator, attempting to be supportive to all concerned. In one instance, a mother came in because of her daughter's suspension. The interview became heated when the mother documented the vice principal's school history in the city, including the assertion that it was common knowledge that he was "prejudiced." The mother invited the vice principal outside to fight, at which he stood up, shaking his finger in her face. The Integration Specialist stepped between the two. At the termination of the conference, the Integration Specialist escorted the mother out of the school. She became much more relaxed and talked in a very concerned way about the future of her daughter, realizing that she was a problem and had been a problem, but what could she do about it? Later, when the vice principal had "simmered down," the experience was shared with him, pointing out specific ways of handling parents when they come in. Issues relating to the academic misplacement of children were discussed with the vice principal in an effort to get him to pursue these with the guidance counselor.

The two guidance counselors reflected the attitude that the mental health person would work with the incoming children who presented problems. Several times it was stated, "My training does not include this kind of effort." Acting as a resource person to the guidance personnel, the mental health person "hand delivered" incoming children who had particular problems. This was a conscious effort to increase the counselor's capacity in working with the new arrivals.

A ninth grade girl, age 14, approached the Integration Specialist commenting that she was disgusted. She revealed that in her English class her spelling words were the same as her brother's, who was in the third grade. She felt insulted because she was not learning anything. This student had always had a successful academic record. Current standardized tests revealed that her

language skills were on a twelfth grade level. When this was presented to the guidance personnel, they did not wish to change her class. They commented that the immediate concern was to "integrate" and not have the incoming children in clusters. "We never change schedules in this school." It took considerable effort and frequent conversations with the principal and vice principal to effect a change.

As the year progressed, in instances where there was a question regarding a student and some diagnostic assessment seemed indicated, the mental health person arranged for psychological testing. This was done by another member of the integration unit. Staffing followed and included the counselor, administrators, and other interested personnel. The continual follow-up with the counselors stimulated their own resourcefulness toward including these children in a usual way rather than considering them as a distinct population serviced by the Integration Specialist.

The teachers varied in degree of interest and sophistication in their dealings with an "unknown quantity." At one extreme of the axis was the overdetermined teacher who did not know what he was doing. Those who felt the most comfortable quickly related to the Integration Specialist, asking questions which would help them in their objective--teaching children. The place for engaging teachers in discussion was the teachers' lounge. Never was a classroom visited unless a specific request came from the teacher. In the teachers' lounge, over coffee, individual relationships were formed and, finally, small discussion groups emerged at varying periods of the day, centered around issues and how the problem was viewed. It was out of these types of meetings that the mental health person recommended to the principal the establishment of remedial groups utilizing community volunteers who had academic skills. These groups were recommended for all children in need, based on the recommendation of the teacher, rather than for only the incoming children. Many teachers were most receptive to this idea and eagerly pursued the matter with the Integration Specialist. They sought out the Integration Specialist to talk with him individually about particular children. With others, it took patience and courage to enable the teachers to become comfortable so that they could express some of their concerns.

In one instance, a science teacher expressed her frustration over the incoming children and began to question herself: "I guess on paper I am a liberal, but when it comes to the real thing, I don't know." After talking about her situation over a period of time in unstructured meetings, she was able to recognize that it was not just the incoming children who were problems, but that she had inherited children from last year who were known problems.

Once she was able to resolve this, she was able to approach other matters and take a different tack, experimenting with numerous things.

In still another instance, a home economics teacher approached the "Specialist" on the first day of school, asking him to observe her class. The class had segregated themselves, with the Negro students tending to discourage communication with the white students. The "Specialist" inquired whether this was their regular seating arrangement. He was told that the teacher allowed them to sit anywhere until she learned their names. There was general discussion about creating a favorable classroom climate. Later in the season, in passing this classroom, the "Specialist" observed two Negro girls in the front of the room demonstrating hair straightening. Later, in conversation with the home economics teacher, it was reported that while she was developing a unit on personal grooming, the Negro youngsters had indicated that grooming was different for them. The teacher was unfamiliar with this and thought it would be a learning experience for all if it were demonstrated. The youngsters took pride in the opportunity, and probably in themselves as well. When the next course in home economics began, the teacher automatically included this in the curriculum.

The librarian engaged frequently in conversation about the incoming students but was resistant to the exploration of reading material as related to the current situation. Her belief was that "children are children and there are no differences." When she was asked specifically about the approved reading list for secondary schools, the answer was that they were lacking in funds. A seventh grade Negro student who requested a reading list of material on the American Negro was told that there was none and was referred to the card catalogue to see what material the school had available. Later, this student reported to the librarian that the card catalogue was "inadequate." Following this, the librarian consulted with the principal who talked with the "Specialist" about appropriate reading material. The librarian never mentioned this to the "Specialist" but did seek him out to discuss situations that arose in the library. In this way, the children were individualized with many receiving support and encouragement.

Many teachers who understood the situation and who were doing a commendable job were able to make other "inroads" with teachers, largely by sharing their experiences. Often, teachers' real attitudes and feelings were expressed in the female teachers' lounge, which was not available to the Integration Specialist. However, reports on these conversations were made by other teachers, and

suggestions were offered on how to handle situations constructively. As the teachers became more comfortable and saw the "Specialist" as an enabler to all concerned rather than someone to pass judgment, they were able to report concerns regarding other teachers. One teacher reported that whenever the math teacher stopped a Negro student in the hall, all Negro students in the area would stop and stare. Administrative sanction had been given to this teacher to study the incoming students for her dissertation. These children were frequently openly differentiated by her in the classroom situation. The teacher would give them "assignments" which she did not give the other students. When students asked about this, they were not told the truth. This was a potentially explosive situation in which the Integration Specialist was able to intervene. When results were not forthcoming within the building, central administration was involved.

The incoming students varied in reaction. It was to the advantage of the mental health person to have previously worked in the school from which the youngsters came. Several students feeling uncomfortable were frank about not wanting to be in the new school situation. Others tended to feel that things would be all right. Two students with past emotional problems showed an exacerbation of symptoms. One girl, age 14, thought people were looking at her. Continued support and school awareness of her difficulties enabled her in the course of the year to make a better adjustment than at the previous school. The second youngster, a seventh grade boy, age 13, who had been previously diagnosed as having School Phobia, effected a good adjustment. On the first day of school, he came to the "Specialist" in tears. He was escorted from class to class. On the second day, he was introduced to the guidance counselor as a person he could see in the absence of the "Specialist." On the third day, he went in to see the counselor. The following week, the student started going regularly to his classes without assistance from the "Specialist" or the guidance counselor.

Being supportive of all incoming students along with "interfering" when necessary characterized the work of the Integration Specialist. The students were encouraged to express themselves appropriately. In joint conferences, they were supported and encouraged to talk about their feelings. On the other hand, they were not allowed to manipulate. The students felt free to come to the "Specialist" to talk about what they perceived as discrepancies or mistreatment. One student came to find out why the math teacher was giving her a passing grade when she had failed every exam. Their complaints were looked into and discussed with

the people involved. Direct feedback was given to the student in terms of his correct perception or distortion.

The receiving school children frequently would ask the Integration Specialist in the hall just what it was he was doing. No matter what was stated, the students usually verbalized, "You are like a guidance counselor." There were frequent inquiries from them which reflected parental attitudes related to the process of desegregation. On occasion, receiving school students would come to talk about the prospect of a fight after school, the fact that they had been threatened, or to say that they were afraid. One particular incident involved a Negro girl and a white boy where there had been a lot of banter over who likes whom. The "Specialist" allowed the vice principal to conduct the interview. After feelings were aired, what had appeared to be primarily a racial situation dissolved into reams of laughter by both children, who agreed that they had been poking fun at one another. Lower class white children identified with lower class Negro children and their behavior was similar.

The parents of the incoming children were encouraged to participate in school activities. Home visits were made not only in problem areas but often in general to report on children's success. When parents came to the school for whatever reason it might be, the mental health person was available and sat in on conferences. The approach to the parents was supportive, encouraging, and helpful in clarifying various issues. In instances where there was trouble and the student had been suspended, the mental health person went into the home prior to the requested date of coming to school to find out the parents' level of understanding and to clarify further what it was the parent wanted for the child. Once this was decided, the mental health person often instructed the parents in what to say and how to say it in order to accomplish what they wanted for their children. In essence, some parents were given acting lessons in the ways of the middle class. In one instance, the mother performed so well in a meeting with school officials that, in the midst of it, she turned and winked at the mental health person. The parents felt the "Specialist" was looking out for their interests and supported them in an unfamiliar, anxiety-provoking situation for which they lacked the necessary social skills. Parents were able to contact the Integration Specialist at any time to find out about procedures or to get a better understanding of what was going on at school. Attempts were made by the "Specialist" to encourage parents to participate in the Parent-Teacher Association.

Many of the receiving school parents professed an interest in making a contribution to the school's efforts to desegregate. Frequently, there were calls asking for suggestions on what they could do. One parent was interested in availing herself to transport parents from the inner city area to Parent-Teacher Association meetings. She felt that these efforts would increase representation of the minority children's parents. This was supported and encouraged. Receiving parents and incoming parents were introduced to one another. On one occasion, the mental health person received a call from a receiving parent who stated that her child's bike had been stolen but was hesitant to go through regular channels for fear that it would be viewed with racial overtones. Brief reports were requested by the Parent-Teacher Association of the Integration Specialist at regular meetings. He was invited to join the Executive Committee of the Parent-Teacher Association, to make recommendations, and to participate. Receiving parents with obviously negative feelings toward the integration efforts of the city school district often would not come directly to the mental health person and went to the principal instead. Following this, the principal would involve the "Specialist" in a discussion of the matter, and he offered possible approaches for handling the situation. For parents who seemed overly involved and too identified in pushing their children into integrated situations, assessments were made followed by recommendations to the principal. In one instance, there was a youngster with obvious emotional problems who was rejected by the majority group and sought identification with the minority group. This youngster's mother would frequently invite groups of children to the home to spend the weekend. The situation was referred to the guidance counselor, since there were many problems that needed attention.

The combustible elements inherent in the process of desegregation emerged in varying instances which reflected constructive ripples towards the achievement of quality education for all children. On one occasion, the Integration Specialist was paged throughout the school. When he arrived at the office, he was uncertain as to whom he should handle first--the teacher or the child. Both were upset, shouting and screaming. The principal and vice principal seemed immobilized. In the classroom situation the student had called the teacher a "white bastard." The mental health person felt the teacher needed help immediately; he had four more classes that day, and the youngster could wait in the office. After the initial ventilation and the return of the teacher to the classroom, the matter was handled with the child. This teacher, who was not liked by the incoming children, had the reputation of being able to "handle these children by

keeping your thumb on them." The "Specialist" requested permission to meet with the teacher and take his cues from there. The principal reluctantly agreed, feeling that the student should be suspended.

The "Specialist" met with the teacher, who apologized for losing his temper. The response to this was, "You are human, too." A joint meeting was suggested between the teacher and the student with the teacher in control. It was further pointed out that this was his classroom and that the decision about what to do would also be his. The teacher agreed to this joint meeting, which was held in the principal's office. The mental health person tried to lend objectivity and support to both parties involved. They worked out a mutual agreement, and the youngster was returned to the classroom. Several weeks later, the teacher approached the mental health person and, for the first time, commented on his lack of experience and some of his fears in dealing with lower class children. He also reported that the student was doing much better and that he felt that he had learned something from the experience. Correspondingly, the student involved reported that this was his favorite teacher. As the year progressed, this teacher became the favorite teacher among Negro students. There were many requests to be transferred to his class, as "he understands and is helpful."

During the course of the year, there were modifications of attitudes on both sides. The feeling that the teachers developed "of someone being available who would understand" enhanced their feelings of concern and allowed them to evolve ideas of handling their own situations in their classrooms. Situations involving fights between children were handled on the spot, helping all to ventilate and to sort out fact from fiction. Undoubtedly, the positive relationship between the principal and the mental health person facilitated a real "look-see" at approaches. This created the capacity to do some things differently.

In summary, the role of the mental health person in the school integration process described here developed as follows: (1) Consultation services to administrators, guidance counselors, and teachers; (2) Supportive intervention service to youngsters, both new arrivals and oldtimers in connection with problems as they related to integration, discipline, and quality education; (3) Consultation, supportive, and educational service to parents of incoming children as well as parents of oldtimers; (4) Service to community groups through speeches and panel participations;

(5) Services to public school central administration regarding concerns as related to integration; (6) Selecting and working with volunteers who met with remedial groups. In all cases, the first essential was to develop trust with the principal and to learn the school's way of operating rather than to attempt to go in with a torch.

Achieving quality education for all children is possible in integrated education. Children coming from a deprived area are frequently behind academically. Remedial help should be offered to all children in the school who need the same type of service. This is a necessary step toward establishing the goal of quality education. In the integrated school, all children are better able to appraise themselves realistically. Guidance services are needed and, initially, they may be needed in much more depth for the incoming children to help them to become acclimated to a different way of behaving. This is necessary if quality education is to be achieved. The exposure of all children in a classroom situation leads to an enriched curriculum including other facets of American history that have been minimized. This should include minority groups and the roles they have played in the formation of our country. The exposure has reciprocity: the receiving children can thus unlearn some of their own stereotyped attitudes that are frequently passed from one generation to another.

There is a role for the mental health person in the school's efforts toward desegregation which can enhance quality education and assimilation for all children. In a climate of fear and uncertainty with strong emotional overtones, the mental health person can lend direction and objectivity to the milieu. What worked well in this situation may not necessarily apply to another, but the mental health person's skills in assessing difficulties and applying antidotes to achieve the objective of quality education for all children will perpetuate the educational goals of the school in the broadest sense, including social and personal development aspects. The mental health person should have a knowledge of personality and development and the dynamics of human interaction as well as the ability to work with people beginning where they are. This kind of "Specialist" has to be flexible and available in order to adapt to interchanging roles of practitioner, consultant, and collaborator.

In the last produced play of Lorraine Hansberry, The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window, one of the characters, reflecting on the climate of our times, says, "Yes, I care, I care about it all. It takes too much energy not to care. Yesterday I

counted twenty-six gray hairs on the top of my head, all from trying not to care. The why of why we are here is an intrigue for adolescents. The how must concern the living."¹ This is the dilemma for today's society.

¹Lorraine Hansberry, The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window. New York: Random House, 1965, (p. 13).

Part Four--Conclusions: The Demonstration Program Assessed

The original concept of a team of integration specialists working together to bring various special competencies to bear in several schools was, of course, never implemented and cannot, therefore, be evaluated here. The structure that did emerge, in which a single member of the integration unit was assigned primarily to one of the three schools included in the demonstration, bore at least one fundamental similarity to the original plan that seems worthy of discussion. Both plans involved the establishment of a new title and professional identity in the school--that of the "integration specialist." While the prescribed functions and raison d'être of these individuals may or may not have been evident to the students, they were abundantly clear to the school personnel involved. The question that arises is whether this kind of identification facilitates or retards the exercise of the functions that it was designed to implement. Teachers and others who are secure, competent professionals and not afraid of desegregation will handle many potential problem situations in stride and are likely to recognize situations in which they need outside help and seek it. Less competent and more prejudiced teachers may be more reluctant to consult an "integration specialist" than a colleague with similarly relevant knowledge and skills and a title that seems to be less "loaded." Moreover, the convenient availability of designated integration specialists may tend implicitly to emphasize the differences between newly desegregated youngsters and "regular students," allow teachers to avoid confronting them directly by calling on the specialist to work with "his" (the specialist's) children, and thus retard the development of true integration.

An effective integration specialist will, of course, be alert to such situations and attempt not to permit them to interfere with his objectives. However, the possibilities suggest--and it is only a suggestion, since no direct evidence has been adduced above either to support or to refute it--that special training and "sensitization" for teachers, guidance personnel, principals, and others already on the educational team might be of greater benefit than the introduction of yet another new professional, an "integration specialist," into a school being desegregated. In addition, it may be a mistake to introduce a professional with a new kind of designation into a social system at the same time as it is faced with the task of absorbing a new and often unfamiliar subpopulation, particularly since the actual behavior of the integration specialist so closely resembles what other kinds of special-

ists frequently do.

There seems to be no question, however, that desegregation may introduce new problems, particularly when the cultural differences between the groups involved are great and when significant travel for young children is required. Teachers may be confronted with unfamiliar behavior and learning problems, and there are likely to be extra administrative details to be handled as well. Extra help may well be needed, therefore, as well as special competencies, but the optimum "mix" of extra teachers, supervisors, administrators, and particular kinds of specialists probably remains to be determined. The best solution is undoubtedly different for different schools and at different educational levels, but it may be possible to direct future work toward the development of guidelines to help school systems staff themselves most appropriately when a specific move toward desegregation is planned.

Given the fact that integration specialists were to be used in the demonstration program, the effectiveness of the team may have been enhanced by the assignment of each member (except the administrator) to a single school. This permitted each to become a familiar figure in the school and gradually to gain the confidence of colleagues and students alike. The fact remains, however, that the demonstration that was funded was never implemented, and these ex post facto hypotheses are in no sense offered in justification of this failure. The demonstration part of the proposal represented largely the thinking of the school system's Special Projects Director who, as has been indicated, resigned just as the work was scheduled to begin without establishing a mechanism for the program's implementation. This points to a significant issue that has too often been ignored by beneficiaries of governmental and private largesse and overlooked by funding groups, that of professional responsibility.

In this situation, the former Special Projects Director must, of course, take primary responsibility for his failure to honor an implicit (if not explicit) professional commitment. If there is blame, however, it should be shared by others: the federal funding agencies that did not follow up the use of their funds more carefully; the private foundation that made its offer despite the fact that the candidate was not professionally free to accept a new position; the school system that seemingly neither made the individual's prior commitments clear to him and his prospective new employer nor proposed to return the funds or renegotiate the project; the university that was equally guilty of "going along" with a project that had fundamentally changed without offering to return the funds or attempting to renegotiate; and the writer, who did not attempt

to implement any of these actions himself. The new programs that are designed to better the education and to serve the welfare of all our citizens must not be permitted to founder on the self-interest or opportunism of those who would use available resources to advance themselves and their own careers at the expense of their freely assumed professional commitments. Perhaps this is one of the prime lessons to be learned from the entire project.

Seemingly as a result of the Special Projects Director's expectation that he would be leaving, the integration team was selected haphazardly, without regard to the job specifications outlined in the proposal. The team members complain of not having been involved in the planning process, but the fact seems to be that there was no planning process because of the Special Project Director's withdrawal from the situation. Fortunately, two and perhaps three of the men chosen to be integration specialists were highly competent, but the fact seems to be as they perceive it: they were chosen because they were there and no other positions were available for them. There is no evidence that any recruitment effort was made beyond asking the four whether they would accept the assignment.

That the school system was minimally involved with the work of the team after the departure of the Special Projects Director seems apparent from the material presented in the preceding chapters. It acquiesced in the selection of the team members by default and the unanticipated pattern in which they were assigned; it accepted the final report quoted in full above as the product of six weeks of professional work by the team administrator and the official record of an endeavor that represented the expenditure of over \$50,000. of federal funds. Only when prodded by questions and complaints from the schools and others did the administrative leaders of the school system make an effort to learn directly what the team was doing and to suggest ways in which it might work more smoothly and effectively; even then, there was no subsequent follow-up. No official notice seems to have been taken of the fact that the team was not functioning at all at Gilbert School, although this might have been different had the need for extra help appeared at Gilbert. Nor was the team called on except in the most superficial ways to contribute its growing expertise to those responsible for planning and policy making in connection with future desegregation. In sum, it seems that the leadership of the school system gave the team little guidance and became involved with it only when problems arose that threatened the smooth running of the schools concerned and when the team's endorsement of (rather than contribution to) evolving plans was sought.

This is not to suggest that the leadership had little or no interest in the team and the broader issue of integration. The central administration of the school system was understaffed and overloaded with a wide range of the kinds of problems that demand immediate attention. It does, however, help to define where the team and, perhaps, the desegregation program stood on the ladder of priorities that governed the allocation of limited leadership resources. Further, it seems likely that the team's position as a peripheral adjunct in the overall structure may have limited its stature and, thereby, its influence with school personnel. Nor did the team's nominal leader seem to have the personal capacity to compensate for the lack of visible support from the overall administration, although the team members seem generally to have become highly respected in the schools where they worked.

The way in which the first three integration specialists were selected and their advance rejection of the man subsequently named as their administrator appears to have foreclosed the possibility of the group working as a true team although, as has been indicated above, there were occasions when one specialist called on another to provide a needed skill. The way the unit organized itself seems undoubtedly to have reflected the way it was chosen and its internal, interpersonal stresses as much as it reflected the planning of efficient, effective operating strategies. The idea has already been advanced, however, that the assignment of each specialist to a particular school may have been a more effective mode of operation than the team concept as originally proposed. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the sequence of events in which the first three specialists were chosen, were asked about the prospective administrator, rejected him firmly, learned that he had been appointed, and found him even harder to work with than they had predicted, was a critical one. The development of morale was undercut from the beginning, and the attitudes of the specialists receded from enthusiastic to, in some cases, bitterly hostile. The failure to submit the details of its modus operandi to the Office of Education as required seems to have been due to the breakdown of communication between the administrator and the other members of the unit as well as to the former's apparent inability to produce such a document on his own and the lack of help or pressure from his superiors.

Factors other than dissension within the unit contributed to the breakdown of morale among the specialists. The seminar may have been of limited direct importance, but its lack of broad support and its gradual, unceremonious dissolution probably contributed to their feelings of being viewed as unimportant and even expendable. Apparently more importantly, they felt that the central administration of the school system was largely opposed to desegre-

gation and, while not opposing the work of the team itself, failed to give it the attention or support it warranted. For example, one specialist characterized the Hayes-Tyler transfer as follows:

If you want to look at the almost unconscious motivation, this was almost a sadistic move on the part of the central administration. . . . "This [Tyler] is where kids who can make it come from. Let's see what Negro kids can do here." If you look at other areas of the city, you find that there were other schools . . . which could have been used. . . . I think central administration was trying to satisfy the political pressure . . . for integration . . . without being concerned with what it takes to be a success in high achievement schools--eventually forcing them into a track system. This would preclude the kinds of changes in kids the entire program is designed to achieve.

One need not agree with this criticism of the choice of one of the highest achieving schools in the city (Tyler) as the receiving school to appreciate that the morale of the individual quoted above was tenuous at best even when the year began.

Later in the year, according to the same specialist, one of his colleagues who could have been helpful "sabotaged efforts" and "preferred to work unilaterally . . . allowing [the speaker] and [another specialist] to go off commiserating at a very low and almost immature level. . . ." Referring to the latter part of the year, another specialist said,

Communication just broke down, and it [became] a game of trying to outwit people . . . we began to get so annoyed with the people downtown that we had something in common. We were all ignored and they didn't use our services, which annoyed us.

The morale problem was a difficult one for all four specialists, apparently irrespective of race.¹ Most continued to do their jobs, however, perhaps surprisingly well in view of their feelings of futility and even betrayal, but their hearts were not in their work.

¹Two of the specialists were white; the other two were Negro.

and all left the school system at the end of the year.

Despite all the negative factors cited, it seems clear that many useful, sometimes vital functions were performed by the integration specialists in connection with the first steps toward desegregation at Tyler, Dexter, and Jefferson Schools. Contacted over a year later, two of the principals involved (the third had left the city) indicated that the specialists had been of significant assistance during the critical first year and that there had been learning and carryover among their respective faculties and lasting impact on some of the students as a result. Many of the specifics are discussed above; additional detail is included in the logs prepared by the specialists during the year.

It seems probable that this material could provide much of the basis for a manual and/or casebook for the future use of school personnel concerned with integration. Such a publication could help to illuminate the roles and functions through which integration might best be facilitated and could detail common kinds of problems that have arisen in the past along with ways in which they were effectively or ineffectively handled. It was anticipated that this could be included within the current project, but the way the integration unit developed and limitations of time foreclosed that possibility. The material remains available, and it is hoped that an opportunity to develop the manual will present itself later.

In summary, it can be concluded that effective integration specialists were able to overcome the handicap of originally being perceived as somewhat threatening figures in the schools and to contribute to effective integration in the course of one school year. The school system and, in particular, its Special Projects Department failed, however, to offer the kind of stimulation and support that would have enabled the unit to make its maximum contribution or to sustain itself beyond the first year. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the school system showed indifference and naïveté in its use of the unit and in its apparent unrealistic expectation that federal support would or should be continued beyond the pilot year for what was planned as a demonstration effort. From the standpoint of future school policies, it seems clear that the services rendered by the specialists were largely necessary ones, but the question of role definition remains. In particular, the roles of administrators, guidance counselors, school psychologists, school social workers, and teachers should be re-examined in this context.

SECTION THREE--THE CHILDREN, THE SCHOOLS, AND THE PARENTS

Section Three reports the results of three separate phases of the research aspect of the project: participant observation in the newly desegregated schools, the testing program, and the parent opinion survey. These segments of the investigation share a focus on the children involved, white and nonwhite alike, with emphasis on social, personality, and academic factors.

Part Five--Participant Observation and Student Assimilation

Background and Methodology

Except for the few revisions described here, the participant observational substudy was implemented as outlined in the original proposals. Unstructured observation procedures were employed throughout, since the data thus obtained seem particularly appropriate in the pilot study situation. In addition, the group working on this phase of the project conceived and carried out an assimilation rating program that seemed likely to contribute much to the overall project. As had been planned, one half-time graduate research assistant was assigned to each of the four schools involved. The observations on the administrative and public policymaking levels were handled separately and are detailed in the sociopolitical case history presented above.

All four school observers were college graduates, and three were working toward advanced degrees. Specialties represented included education, psychology, and sociology. Three women and one man, three whites and one Negro, were included. Two additional male graduate assistants, one white and one Negro, both with more training and experience than the others, contributed their skills as needed for administration, specific observational assignments as seemed advisable, the assimilation rating program, and other special tasks. Charles V. Willie, a sociologist, was directly responsible for the supervision of this substudy.

Before field work was begun, the group participated in a three day orientation and training program led by Dr. Willie and the writer. Dr. Blanche Geer of the Youth Development Center, a leading exponent of participant observational methods, presented her ideas and techniques.¹ There were also seminars during which

¹For methodological details, see Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data, in Human Organization Research: Field Relations and Techniques, edited by R. N. Adams and J. J. Preiss (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1960, 267-289; also S. Bruyn, The Methodology of Participant Observation, Human Organization, 1963, 22, 224-235; and references cited in these sources.

the observers discussed assigned readings on observational methodology and problems of school integration. Each of the four schools was visited. On the final day, the observers met with the Superintendent of Schools, several of his lieutenants, and the building principals of the schools involved. School system procedures to be followed by the observers and potential problems were presented and discussed, after which each observer met privately with the principal of the school to which he or she was assigned to arrange a time to be introduced to the school at a faculty meeting. A more extensive training program had been anticipated, but the delays which had been encountered and the immutable reality of the opening date of school forced a compromise. Consequently, the observers had to do more of their learning "on the job" than might otherwise have been the case.

After some discussion, it was determined that each observer would spend about two hours daily in his or her school and would allow about the same time for writing up the observations. In addition, a weekly meeting was scheduled to permit continuing training and ongoing evaluation of the work. The observers were asked to include the informal elements of school life--lunch time, play time, arrival and departure, and the like--as well as formal classroom situations. They were asked to concentrate attention on the grade levels involved in the study, which have been elaborated elsewhere in this report, and on all new pupils (rather than just desegregated ones) in those grades. This was done to permit an assessment of the effects of newness alone, as well as desegregation, on pupil adjustment. The observers' first task in the schools was to become personally acquainted with each new pupil.

The early days of observation were often difficult for observers and school personnel alike. The observers found it hard, at first, to observe and record what they saw without becoming unduly involved in ongoing social processes and to accept the inevitable concern and suspicion with which they were regarded. During this early period, the senior investigators, particularly Dr. Willie, had to be available to the observers for frequent supportive conferences. Not only were the observers under a great deal of stress, but the requirement of confidentiality left them few other legitimate outlets.

Many of the school personnel were, understandably, disturbed at the beginning, although most cooperated well in introducing the observers to their classes as had been requested. It was necessary for the observers to define their role repeatedly for some teachers and others who looked to them for advice, consultation, or support. The pupils, curious at first, seem to have learned rather quickly

to accept the observers as somewhat strange participants in their world, but as harmless and perhaps even good to have around. Although the observers concentrated their attention on and their involvement with the youngsters, the adults, too, seem to have come to perceive them as innocuous or potentially helpful. There were only a few cases in which overt friction occurred, and each seems to have been handled successfully. Dr. Willie maintained close liaison with the principals, and all of the observers appeared to be accepted in the schools.

The early observations were to be minimally structured reports of the ongoing behavior stream or "what happened," with particular attention given to the behavior of pupils. It was felt that this was of primary concern and would be least threatening to teachers as well. The observers showed a great deal of sensitivity and capacity for reporting from the beginning, and their reports seemed to increase in breadth and scope as they gained more experience. Samples of notes submitted by each of the four observers are provided in an appendix. They have been altered slightly to protect the confidentiality of the material.

The progress of the weekly meetings, which also began on an unstructured basis, paralleled the development of the observations. The first few meetings could almost be characterized as "group therapy" sessions focused on problems of the observers in the schools and the content of the observations. Later, more attention was directed toward observational content and method and, still later, toward the specification and ordering of the observations. Dr. Helen Icken Safa, an anthropologist on the staff of the Youth Development Center, met with the observers to discuss the development of categories for the eventual coding of such observations.

An indirect outcome of the discussions on classification was a recognition of the need for an operational definition of assimilation and some indication of the success or failure of each new pupil along this dimension. It was felt that such data would not only permit more meaningful interpretation of the descriptive material and behavioral episodes reported, but also contribute a new and significant dimension to the overall findings of the study. Ultimately, such ratings used in conjunction with observational data might help to distinguish kinds of episodes that are critical indicators or "barometers" of the quality of assimilation from those that may look dramatic but are really incidental. This, unfortunately, was beyond the feasible scope of the present study. While it was planned to obtain assimilation ratings both at mid-year and at the end of the year from the observers, the teachers,

and the students themselves, pressures of time and other administrative considerations forced a cutback to a single rating from each group obtained in the spring.

The two chapters that follow report in detail on the participant observational substudy. Chapter Five, based on Dr. Willie's report of his work with the participant observers, portrays the climates of each of the four schools involved as reflected in the observers' field notes. Relevant excerpts from the notes are included, and a complete sample recording by each observer appears in an appendix. Chapter Six comprises virtually all of the master's thesis prepared by Richard O. Hope, one of the advanced graduate assistants, reporting in depth on the assimilation ratings. Mr. Hope and another graduate assistant worked with Dr. Willie on the data for these chapters during the year following the field work described above. The material was edited as necessary by Jerome Beker and Lloyd M. Sundblad with the assistance of Philip Allen.

Chapter Five - Desegregation in Practice

I. Gilbert Elementary School:

Gilbert is located in an area of the city which, according to a socioeconomic study which was conducted in 1960, is above average in terms of yearly income (over \$7,000. for the median Gilbert area family) and education (33 per cent of the residents in the district had completed high school and 11.5 per cent had completed college). The school is unique in that it is designed and equipped to accommodate physically disabled as well as non-disabled children, and its 19 classrooms, library, gymnasium, cafeteria, auditorium, and physical therapy room are all located on one floor for their use.

Until 1963, the slightly over 500 students were separated into "normal" and "handicapped" classroom groups. Over a two year period, the two groups were combined in classes. This worked well, according to the principal, and will continue. Average class size is 18, and disabled students do not seem to receive disproportionate amounts of attention. The all-white teaching staff of 25 experienced individuals is supported by seven part-time teachers in the fields of music, physical education, art, and remedial reading. In addition, there are three physical therapists and a part-time psychologist, but the school has no guidance counselor. The faculty is relatively stable; according to the principal, "we have few new teachers--perhaps a couple every three or four years."

The school is characteristically friendly and relaxed, although it seems apparent that learning is the order of the day. Decorations and bulletin board exhibits by teachers and students reflect hard work and imagination, while the animated bursts of conversation between students and teachers in the lunch line reveal that the general atmosphere is not one of rigid control.

The principal is an easy-going person who does more than set the tone of the school; he seems aware of his position as a potential mediator between latent factions and attempts to promote good relations among faculty and in parent-teacher concerns. He views his function as one of guidance and states that, "It is the principal's obligation to drop everything when a staff member or pupil comes to his office with a problem or question." This philosophy is reflected in his handling of

discipline, where procedures are individually applied, understood, and accepted. According to the participant observer at Gilbert, "The principal conveys the feeling that it is not 'his school.'"

The interest, imagination, and flexibility of the teachers is conveyed by the following typical observation:

Miss _____ is about forty, with black hair, low-heeled shoes, and no make-up. In her third grade classroom, instructions were being given in French to begin a lesson. The teacher's attitude and enthusiasm matched that of the students. As she walked by the children's desks speaking in French to each one, one of the students told her that his brother was taking lessons on the saxophone. Her response was, "He'll be a real corntooter, won't he?" She spoke to each child personally. "Harvey, you need one of my kleenex in the top drawer." "These papers are beautiful; I'll have to show them to the principal." "Your handwriting is so good it will certainly be of help to you in college."

The de-emphasis on teacher authority is revealed in the following incident, which is also indicative of the type of student response elicited.

As I took a seat, spelling was in progress. Danny asked for help with a word, but the teacher did not give the answer and, instead, looked to the class for the answer. Paul, without being called on, volunteered to answer. Her statement to Danny was, "Perhaps Paul can help you." Paul said the word, sounding it out carefully, and then spelled it. He received special praise for his emphasis on the "m" sound in COME. Paul beamed at her praise.

Naturally evolving from this type of teacher-student interaction seems to be an increased emphasis on student responsibility for the workings of the school. In addition to valuable social skills learned from participation in positions of responsibility, the interaction of disabled and nondisabled students is facilitated as they are drawn together in both academic and extracurricular activities. Teaching methods seem geared to the reality of the child's immediate world. According to the principal,

The students are pretty good achievers no matter what kind of backgrounds they come from. Of course, there are some who don't aim too high, but they are very small in number. If the kids at this school aren't scholastically oriented because this has not been stressed at home, they pick it up. The kids seem to enjoy a kind of comfortable competition at Gilbert.

As there is frequent exchange of ideas among teachers and students, so too there is interchange of thoughts and opinions among members of the school's Parent-Teachers' Association. "While the PTA possesses no formal authority in dictating school policies, it nevertheless is an official adjunct in determining the nature of those policies which the school ultimately selects," states the principal. At staff meetings, the views of the parents are considered quite seriously.

About 100 new pupils, approximately two-thirds of them Negro, were assigned to Gilbert for the 1964-65 school year. The newcomers represented a generally lower socioeconomic stratum than did the pupils already there, and the percentage of Negro pupils in the school increased from about 5 per cent to almost 20. In the principal's words, the new pupils "became a part of Gilbert."

Integration Comes to Gilbert:

When the plan for desegregation was announced, the principal stated, "It is good and it is healthy. There has been too much parochialism in this city, with people living in certain districts and attending certain schools."

Gilbert had a higher academic rating than either of the sending schools. The principal was concerned, therefore, about the reassigned students; that is, he was anxious for rather than about the incoming children. He said,

I wanted to make sure that the teachers would accommodate the new youngsters at their pace in school, for I thought it might be difficult for them to be placed in a new school. But as far as the acceptance of them as being Negro, I was not concerned at all, since Gilbert has had Negro pupils before without any problems of discrimination. In other words, I was concerned for them as new students and not as Negro or white, rich or poor.

He did, however, request patience and understanding on the part of his teachers, saying that the new students are "victimized by an uprooting complex of events." This may reflect social class disparities and newness itself rather than racial differences.

Although the person in the role of principal may often be subjected to cross-pressures from parents and teachers in such situations, the principal at Gilbert seems to have escaped much of this. According to him, his problems lay with the parents of the incoming Negro children:

I did have quite a number of Negro parents call me. They asked me to help them not have their kids come to Gilbert because they lived nearer their old schools and seemed to be happy in them. These parents were upset about their children being transferred, they didn't want it, and they wanted me to know it. I pointed out to them that the problem was one of overcrowding at their former schools and that, in view of the fact that Gilbert had more room, obviously the children had to be moved and the boundary lines of the school area expanded. I did not receive any calls from distressed white parents. In fact, they didn't call me at all, either before or after the arrival of the new children.

The PTA was, in the principal's opinion, inadequately informed as to the Board's plan. Initially, there was a feeling of confusion among its members along the lines of "Where are we going? What exactly is the policy?" A meeting was scheduled by the Board of Education during which the Superintendent of Schools spoke to the Gilbert PTA. The general tone of parents' questions was associated with the fear that their children might receive an inferior education resulting from a "slowing down" process in classwork to accommodate "slow learners." The superintendent said that he thought the quality of education would not be altered at Gilbert. After this meeting, if any individual qualms still did exist among the parents of oldtimers, the principal was apparently not aware of them. In his words, "These parents bought the plan one hundred per cent!"

Most members of the teaching staff did not seem to be apprehensive about the arrival of the transfer students. The placing of a research observer at Gilbert to report on the development of the integration process there was a source of annoyance to only a

few faculty members, those who believed that the presence of any outsider disrupts the classroom. According to the principal, teachers felt that, while the potential for problems existed, the increased integration would be relatively problem-free because of the low pupil-teacher ratio. For the most part, Gilbert teachers were experienced, and some of the former faculty members of the sending schools were absorbed into the Gilbert faculty as well. These factors may have helped to account for the apparent lack of anxiety about the new situation.

Some teachers tended to equate the position of the new Negro students to that of the physically handicapped children at Gilbert. One staff member, for example, was heard to say the following:

Teachers are experienced here in teaching handicapped children, and this new situation is not anything different from our past work. The teachers have always stressed individual attention. We had been told in June that the children were coming, but it is within our stride and has not presented any problems.

In general, there is an attitude among the teachers of "taking things as they come."

The transfer students were distributed, although unevenly, among the classrooms of all six grades. For example, there were eight new Negro children in one third grade class, while another had only two.

In the first few weeks of classes, it seemed evident that some teachers felt uneasy about the new Negro children or ignored them due to more than mere oversight. The observer noted that,

In this second grade class, reading books were being passed out. The teacher gave instructions to "take your dark crayon and underline the correct answer." Finally, after two questions from the children concerning the color of the dark crayon, Miss _____ said, "the black crayon," hesitating before the word black. While the class of 20 students was completing the work, the teacher had "a reading group" as she called it,

which was composed of one blond haired white girl, Judy, who was a neighborhood student. She warned the class to be quiet, that this was "Judy's time." Antoinette's (new Negro student) hand was ignored four times until finally she recognized her with a very stern "What?" The teacher then changed to a softer tone to address Judy about the reading lesson. Judy appears to be a normal reader and was working on appropriate and average work for second grade.

Teachers sometimes demonstrated little concern for implicit communication, such as when one selected the following story to use in class:

The story was about Harry, a white dog who got dirty from playing in the street. "Have you ever got dirty from playing in the street?" No one answered. "Well, Harry got black. In fact, he was so black and dirty that no one recognized him. The neighbors saw this dog doing tricks. These tricks were the same as Harry did, but Harry was white and this dog was black. Finally, Harry went into some loose dirt and started to dig. He dug up a brush, a scrub brush. When his father, brother, and sister saw him, he was going into the house with the scrub brush in his mouth. Where do you suppose he was going?" Again, no answer. "He went right upstairs to the bathroom and got into the bathtub and here is where the father and the children found him. Father told the children to take the brush and scrub him. The children called to their father, "Hurry, come and look!" Harry was the clean, beautiful white dog again.

In still another classroom, the observer noted that only the new Negro students were ignored. Some reacted in ways to demand attention:

It was recess time in this class and Bryan, a new Negro student, had not been chosen by the teacher during the "Dog and Bone" game. After a while, he took a spectroscope from the desk opposite his, proceeded to tear off the bottom, and let the glass prism lens fall to the floor and break. Mrs. _____ said that it had been

ruined and no one would be able to look into it any more as the prisms were what made it work. She told him to put it in the wastebasket. His next move was to the bulletin board to look over the gold-starred papers exhibited there. He turned up his nose and returned to his seat, where he reached across to another desk, got a magic slate, and began to write upon it.

The nature of student-teacher interaction was satisfactory, however, in most other classes. Most of the teachers were quick to include the new Negro students in classwork and make them feel comfortable at Gilbert.

In this sixth grade class, the students are working on Social Studies. Erwin, who is a white neighborhood student who has attended Gilbert since the first grade, shoved his desk over to meet David's. David is a new Negro student. . . . They sat together the whole period, at times laughing, at times working, and at times answering questions. The teacher showed no objection to this casual arrangement. He called on David often, prodding him when he gave a half-answer with, "I know you can tell me more, David," or "Yes, you have the right idea." After a while, the teacher announced that, "All of you have been such good workers that I am going to let you see a few innings of the World Series game."

The observer also reported that,

In this second grade classroom, the seating arrangement is interspersed with Negro and white children, old and new. There are three rows, with 3 Negroes and 2 whites in the first row, 3 whites and 2 Negroes in the second row, and 2 whites and 3 Negroes in the third row. Bob, a new Negro student, answered the teacher's questions more frequently than any other student. It is apparent that the new Negro students, in general, are the most active participants in the class and are encouraged by the teacher: "You did so well on the last question, Bob, do you want to try again?" The white neighborhood students who attended Gilbert last year do not

respond as well. They seem to be more passive.

For the most part, the new students were not isolated from the other youngsters in the classroom. There was little differential treatment by the faculty, not only in terms of separation, but also, and especially, in terms of discipline. The new Negro children were usually not singled out if disruptive behavior occurred. Instead, the observer remarked, "If any acting out took place in the classroom which either was initiated by or participated in by the new children, the usual response of the teacher was a verbal 'It's-time-to-settle-down' response." There seemed to be no assumption on the part of most of the faculty that the newcomers would be disruptive.

One particular fifth-grade class, in which the seating arrangements separated the new students from the old ones, was an exception to the usual pattern of physical and social integration. It is debatable whether the behavior of the teacher in this class was a function of her attitude toward the students "newness" to Gilbert or toward their race. An observer notes that,

There are many children in this class, especially the new students, both Negro and white, who do not receive attention. They are never called upon by the teacher and are never chosen to answer when their hands are raised. As a general rule, the teacher-pupil interaction in this room centers in the extreme front section of the room where the old, established students sit.

Many of the transfer students, because of reading difficulties, were given special attention in reading both in special classes and within their own classrooms. This special attention could possibly have caused the new students to feel "different," but it apparently did not:

Throughout the work in class, Jim, a new Negro student, showed discouragement. The teacher had to read each item for him. She had him try to read the sentences, but there were many words beyond his repertoire. Even though they occurred again and again in the lesson, he did not recognize them from sentence to sentence. This student was severely handicapped in reading skills, but Miss _____ was patient and

devoted the majority of her supervisory time to him. She was not discouraged, but he was. Yet, he did not give up. He would raise his hand and try to answer the question put forth. At the end of the lesson, he began to recognize words more easily, and the teacher felt that some progress had been made.

Some of the new students were troubled by deficiency in verbal expression, although it was clear that they had no problem in the comprehension of the material presented in class. The following observation depicts the way in which one child began to manipulate conceptual work in her class:

This is a fourth-grade class. The story was "The Secret Cave." Mrs. _____ asked, "What do you think was the reason for Jeff's fear after the flashlight went out?" Clara, a new Negro student, volunteered and answered, "He was afraid that he would slip on glass which was on the floor and bump into it around in the cave." Bonnie, a white neighborhood student who has been at Gilbert for several years, expanded this comment by saying, "He could be injured on rock formations or could wander afar or into an underground lake or water system." After this clarification of the composition of caves, Clara volunteered again to discuss the dark rocky interior in response to another item, this time using the words Bonnie had used. I could not help thinking that her background had not included caves in either real or vicarious experience, but Clara readily learned, altered her thoughts and descriptions, and relayed them back to the group in a more meaningful way.

Throughout the year at Gilbert, the observer recalled only one class in which one of the new students was considered a "behavior problem." Furthermore, the friends with whom he disturbed the class were neighborhood youngsters who, according to the teacher, "had always caused trouble":

In Mrs. _____'s class, there are three definite behavior problems: David and Ronnie, both white neighborhood students who have been students at Gilbert for a few years, and

Bruce, a new Negro student. David and Bruce annoy their neighbors by talking to them and getting out of their seats to bother them. When the other children ignore them, they sit and talk with each other. Ronnie sits in the back of the room by himself and does what he wants to do--which includes talking aloud, banging on his desk, and drumming with his pencil. All three boys are classed as above average in intelligence, but each requires more attention than the most severely physically handicapped child in the room.

In non-classroom situations, the observer noted that the relationships between the transfer children and the neighborhood students were friendly. The children played well together. Playground separations and lunchroom separations among the youngsters were of a male-female kind. Only in the beginning of the year were there separate play groups formed on a racial basis:

It was the first day of school in September. Two teachers were on playground duty and talked together intently, letting the children play at will. The children were first and second graders out for noon recess. In looking over the playground, I noticed 60 children broken up into four distinct groups: Negro boys, white boys, Negro girls, white girls. The Negro boys were playing tag, the white boys were standing around bicycles, the white girls were playing a circle game, and the Negro girls came over to talk with me. They told me how much they liked Gilbert. I could not tell which students were new and which were not.

A more common scene is portrayed in the following observation:

As the children were getting into line for lunch, a Negro transfer girl left hand-in-hand for lunch with a white girl who is also new. As I followed the children into the cafeteria, I saw two new Negro girls sitting with three white girls who are area students. They were sitting at the first table and were all laughing. As I got closer, I could hear them asking each other riddles.

The majority of the new students found themselves involved both socially and academically at Gilbert by the end of the first semester. Because of the freedom in the school, the pervading attitude of acceptance exhibited by the principal and (with a few exceptions) the faculty, the transfer students reacted to their new setting enthusiastically. Most important was the fact that the uprooted youngsters of September became the solidly grounded youngsters of June. A typical example of their perceptions of Gilbert may be seen in the remarks of a new Negro girl in the fourth grade:

I like school now. Here, everybody is nice to you. The teachers are nice and so are the kids. The stories in class are better. The teachers aren't mean here. In our old school, they used to beat us if we did something wrong. They help us here and they're friendly.

Many reactions from the staff reflected the same enthusiasm held by the new children, sometimes implicitly revealing that they had had apprehensions which had not been confirmed:

Third grade teacher:

I have a new Negro boy in class. I am proud of the way he works. He has made an excellent adjustment. In a few weeks, he'll be taking part in the Christmas play that the students put on.

Sixth grade teacher:

She (a Negro student) is a new student and holding her own, too, doing all right. She gets along well with the other children. They love her.

Second grade teacher:

Last year, he (new Negro student) hated school and would not work. F's and D's were the bulk of his grades. Now that he's at Gilbert, as I was telling his mother, he is as different this year from last as night is from day. He's not an excellent student, but he is an average one

and does like school. His mother wanted to know what I had done to change his effort and attitude. She said he likes me, too, and at home, even, he's a different boy. Well, last year he was in a large second grade and this year it's better for him. I can give him individual attention and his response has been good.

Fifth grade teacher:

The new kids have certainly moved into the school well and have become a part of it. But I wish their parents would do the same. Not one of the parents of the new kids, Negro or white, came to Open House. They [Board of Education] should have bused every one of those students years ago.

In March, 1965, seven months after the arrival of the new students, the observer commented on their achievement and assimilation, noting that,

These children have come a long way since last September. They now appear capable, poised, and involved in classroom situations. Perhaps the most important thing, however, is the fact that they are well accepted by their classmates. It is difficult now to think of them as "new students."

Thus, integration at Gilbert appeared to be an overall success. In recognizing the urgency of desegregation, Gilbert's principal not only accepted the change, but also acted as the primary agent in bringing about a cooperative spirit. Together, he and a majority of the faculty established a climate for the new youngsters that was responsive to their needs. They made an unfamiliar school familiar. Most of the new children felt comfortable at Gilbert after a relatively short period of time. A few teachers seemed to resent the change and to be unwilling to take the special steps in their classrooms that would have led to satisfactory relationships between the new students and the oldtimers, so the new Negro children in a few classes were ignored and isolated. But in most instances, the adjustment of the school to the new students and of the students to their new school was favorable.

II. Tyler Elementary School:

Located in one of the "better" neighborhoods of the city, Tyler has the reputation for being a leader, academically, among the city's elementary schools. Many of the students come from college-oriented family backgrounds, and the median neighborhood annual family income is over \$9,000. The school takes great pride in being a "little United Nations," since its student body includes natives of many foreign countries as well as American children who have lived abroad.

A visitor to the school passes many classrooms in both the new and old sections of the school that are neat, clean, orderly, and stocked with children who seem to match the building's physical orderliness. Entering the principal's office, one immediately realizes that this large, carpeted, well organized, slightly feminine setting is the hub of the school. When the principal walks through the halls or onto the playground, she displays a lively interest in all of the students in what she refers to as, "her school." She is a highly organized person whose efficient manner and presence are reflected everywhere in the smooth-running establishment. At regular staff meetings, held to discuss school procedures, she restates explicitly the rules of conduct for both students and teachers and tries to resolve any potential threat to the even tenor of each day's routine in advance.

The school, with an enrollment of over 900, has 32 experienced classroom teachers, all of whom are white, and part-time special personnel including music teachers (instrumental and vocal), a speech teacher, a nurse, an audiometer technician who tests pupils' hearing annually, a school psychologist, a remedial reading teacher, a mathematics specialist, and a school social worker or "visiting teacher." The teachers are mostly in their forties and fifties, but the school is experiencing an influx of younger teachers to replace those who are retiring. The principal believes that this is a good trend because "most of these younger teachers are smarter than most." Many of the new teachers are wives of graduate students at a nearby university.

With some exceptions, there seems to be a common pattern or style of teaching in the school. Rules of conduct are explicitly stated and restated to pupils, and class participation is highly structured and "orderly." The method is formal and the teacher calls on students directly, although volunteering is permitted. The teacher stands in front of the class while teaching and "dis-

ruptive behavior" or playing is not tolerated during class time.

The school has an active Parent-Teachers' Association numbering roughly 500, and this organization and the school maintain an active and comfortable rapport. Mothers operate the school library on a voluntary basis, and for each class there is a "homeroom mother" selected by the teacher. Through meetings and various other school functions, "We meet with at least five-sixths of the parents every year," states the principal. In addition, many of the parents in the area have occupational positions which permit informal access to the Tyler faculty. "The children have very good backgrounds," the principal adds. "If you ask them for books, they bring them the next day, and the parents did not go out and buy them--they have these books in their own libraries. We have tremendous resources as a result of the large number of children from faculty families. Many professors come to speak to the children though they are very busy."

Briefly, then, Tyler is a well organized school with explicit rules of behavior and performance. Perhaps because they come from achievement-oriented families, most of the students do not resist this structure; they excel within it. Nonconformity is a threat to the established order and, therefore, is seldom understood or permitted. Informality in personal relations is preferred but not at the expense of order, stressing again the efficient, businesslike approach to the mission of learning.

Integration Comes to Tyler:

When the Board of Education's decision regarding desegregation was made public, it was announced that Tyler would be the receiving school for 50 to 60 students from grades one, two, and three at Hayes, an inner city elementary school. The newcomers, to be bused to Tyler, would be selected randomly except that parental consent would be required in each case.

The academic rating of Hayes does not compare with that of Tyler. The overwhelming majority of its students are Negro, as was reflected in the group to be bused. With this transfer, the proportion of nonwhites at Tyler changed from less than two per cent of the student body to about seven per cent. Grades one, two, and three approached 15 per cent Negro after the transfer, with a maximum of seven Negro children in an average class of 25.

An open meeting was held at the school by the Board of Education to answer parents' questions. There was much controversy and bitterness, and the group opposing the busing of inner city

children to Tyler subsequently grew larger and more articulate. Several members of this faction were business and professional people who could present their views forcefully and convincingly. While some were against busing because it violated the "neighborhood school" concept, others openly opposed it on racial and social class grounds. The opposition group has become an even stronger voice in the Parent-Teacher Association at Tyler since the busing program began, although the program also has significant support among the Tyler neighborhood parents.

Generally, there seemed to be two prevailing concerns. Many Tyler neighborhood parents feared that their children would receive an inferior education in such a diversified student body. Some teachers were fearful of the newcomers themselves as well as concerned that the academic reputation of the school would be lowered. These concerns were seemingly based on similar assumptions that the bused children would present behavioral problems, have low I. Q. scores, and come from "bad families." Tyler was proud of its international students, some of whom were nonwhites, and its high academic reputation. Negroes who could meet the high academic expectations had been readily accepted in the past. In regard to the Hayes children, however, many of the teachers expressed apprehension about being able to cope with their reputed academic problems and "different" behavior.

Since this was part of the first planned attempt to alleviate racial imbalance in the city and due to the nature of the school and the situation there, the central administrative staff maintained close contact with the school. A research observer was there much of the time as well, in connection with the current project. This constant "surveillance" was annoying, often reflecting the faculty's apparent feelings of insecurity. For example, one teacher questioned the observer in the following manner:

I don't know what you're doing here. We don't need to be observed. These are just children, treated just the same. This school has always been a little United Nations with Japanese, Korean, Indian, Mexican, all sorts of children coming here. We had three Spanish-speaking children here last year, and they always segregated themselves on the playground; why aren't you studying them? We know how to handle all these different children. Why aren't you studying them [Negroes] in schools where there are more of them? . . . Who are they trying to

kid? I know why you're here. We teachers all know. And none of us likes being observed. We are all experienced teachers in the primary grades, more so than you.

One teacher reported that she found the bused children "unnerving." Anticipating the problems of the coming school year, she said that "having all these extra children means that the lunchroom, which used to be a quiet place where children could relax and talk, will be bedlam." She added that, "with all the running on the playground," teachers were going to have to do double duty and wouldn't like it. According to the observer, two general attitudes concerning the bused youngsters seemed to prevail among the teachers: "The young teachers didn't care, and the older and more experienced teachers were panicked."

A teacher typifying the latter category stated that she was further "behind" this year than in any of her previous nine years at Tyler, and she said that it was because of the bused children. She added, "Anyone who pretends that she has managed to maintain 'Tyler standards' with these children around is not being honest."

Many of the teachers seemed ultra-sensitive to any behavior on the part of the bused children that appeared to be different from the Tyler norm. They anticipated behavioral problems and, therefore, attempted to quell any exuberant behavior by the newcomers before it produced the chaos they expected. As a result, the bused children were watched particularly closely and, according to the observer, teachers often "lectured" them regarding appropriate and inappropriate behavior. For example, the observer frequently ate with the students and recorded the following episode involving four bused Negroes eating together at the lunchroom:

Mrs. _____ had the 11:20-11:45 duty; she began by lecturing our table, talking about how noisy and messy it had been the day before. (Actually this table was far quieter than her own class.)

In the early weeks of the school year, the special attention given this school took its toll on the principal. However, about the middle of October the observer noted a change in her:

The principal has begun to relax. In the beginning of the year, she did not know these children's older sisters and brothers, she had

no contact with the parents. She did not know which were apt to be ringleaders, whom she could call on in a pinch. Now, she is getting to know these pupils as individuals. I noticed in the lunchroom she is no longer the principal with the big stick but is doing her best to talk these children into good behavior, kidding them, smiling, a bit of cajoling.

Many teachers as well as the principal expressed discomfort in their initial relations with the transfer children. Much of this uneasiness seemed to be due to the fact that they, too, had had no contact with the children's parents or their older brothers and sisters prior to the transfer.

The observer noted also a tendency to stereotype the Negro children.

. . . for many of the teachers who are resisting this transfer, all Negroes are automatically considered as being from underprivileged homes with inadequate backgrounds and, therefore, intruders to the smooth sailing (S. S.) Tyler.

When the transfer children came, some teachers tended to react to "old" Negro youngsters (those already attending Tyler) as they reacted to the transferred children. Other teachers, however, were able to relate to the new students on an individual basis. Often, particularly in the second half of the school year, teachers would use some of the transfer students as "good" behavior models for the class. For example, a teacher attempting to get the attention of her class said, "April (the name of a Negro transfer child) is the only one in the whole room who is ready."

Many examples of teachers' skill in dealing with the problems of children were observed. In a second grade class, for example, a teacher asked one of the bused students to draw six pairs of shoes on the board. This pupil drew six shoes rather than six pairs of shoes. To illustrate, the teacher asked the six children in this student's row to place their feet in the aisle for her to count. As a result of this illustration, the student learned the meaning of "pairs." Most such techniques were not used or developed especially for the bused students. The teachers at Tyler have a reputation for being very creative.

One technique which tended to isolate or exclude the transfer students from the main flow of class activity was that of permitting students to call on one another in sequence for recitation.

This hampered new student participation, particularly at the beginning of the year. To alleviate this, teachers increasingly called on those excluded and "liberally praised" new students for giving the correct answer:

Spelling was next . . . Mrs. _____ called on a white girl first, and told her to "invite someone else to do the next one." This went on for five answers, involving three girls and then two boys, all white. Then Mrs. _____ called on John (white), Ruth (Negro) and Yvonne (Negro). Yvonne had a particularly difficult question, but she had raised her hand, and she had all parts of it right, even though more than half the class had missed one part. She was somewhat self-satisfied, but in a quiet way; Mrs. _____ praised her liberally.

Some teachers divided the students into ability reading groups, and the majority of the transfer children were placed in the poorest reading group. Thus, the use of homogeneous ability groups tended to keep the bused students together and to separate them from other Tyler students. For example, the observer noted in one class that the best reading group contained 12 white children and no bused Negroes.

During the second half of the school year, the teachers seem to have made greater efforts to incorporate the bused students into the class routine. This behavior may have been prompted by the new students becoming more at ease in their environment and coming to know a majority of their classmates and may have reflected increased feelings of security on the part of the teachers, too. One indication of a newcomer's familiarity with her classmates can be seen in the observer's comment about a game the children were playing:

She [the teacher] began to explain a game whereby she would appoint one child to sit in the front of the room with his eyes covered and his back to the students, and he would try to guess who was knocking on his chair. The people who came were to disguise their voices. The children were very excited; this game might have been new to them. Cynthia (a Negro transfer) was the first child in the chair. For the first

four children, she was able to guess each time.

The observer indicated that, on many occasions, the old and new students had no difficulty playing together. The observer did not report any terms used by the neighborhood residents to distinguish themselves from the transfer children, such as "bused kids," "those Negro kids," etc. The playground probably offered the best opportunity for free interaction between old and new students. As a result of what they saw, several teachers candidly stated that they were "amazed" at the amount of interaction between the two groups. One teacher relates the following incident as an example of the extent to which old students chose to play with new ones:

Last Friday, the children were to bring in kites, but only five did, so she divided the class into five teams; they were to take turns. Yvonne (a Negro transfer) was in a group with four neighborhood white girls, including Karen. When it was Yvonne's turn, the kite really took off and soared far above the other four. Yvonne got a look of pure ecstasy on her face as she "entered another world," and the two girls in her group who were still to have turns gave them up so she could continue to fly it. In the afternoon, the teacher supplied them with 12 kites, so each had to be shared by only two pupils. The first person to choose a partner was Karen, and she chose Yvonne. Since that time, they have been very close. Karen is just about the top student in the room.

It should be noted that this free interaction did not always occur. Particularly in the early part of the year, the observer reported a great deal of separation by race:

My impression was that the playground was the most segregated spot I had seen. There were clusters of girls, all Negro, in many spots, and most of the groups of boys playing were predominantly Negro or predominantly white. There was not a sharp cleavage at all times, and groups would form, dissolve, and re-form with a changing racial composition, but the impression was still that of some form of subtle differentiation. At times this would become almost overt. Once a group of four

Negro girls, holding hands, started to approach the spot where I was sitting with four or five white girls and one white boy. As they approached, one of the girls swooped up a second and called towards the four approaching Negroes, "You cannot touch me" as the two ran off. This seemed to put the Negro quartet off, in spite of my friendly smile.

In the latter half of the year, it was reported in almost every playground observation that there were no groupings or interactions based solely on race. In one observation, the observer stated, "From what I could tell, pursuit was the only game. It took many forms, often mixing grades and definitely mixing races." On another occasion, she noted that, "The entire playground was mixed by grades and races. There are no evidences of cliques." More and more, the observer began to describe the following as typical behavior:

Susan (a white neighborhood resident), the red-head from Missouri, had her arm around Dora (a Negro transfer), and she introduced her as her friend. On my other side, Michelle (a white neighborhood resident) and Mary (a Negro transfer) were holding hands and vying for my attention. We walked two-thirds across the playground like this, talking. Once I stood still, they used me as a sort of base for a tag game. Then one of them got the idea of "Ring around the Rosie" because of the way we were standing.

Although this kind of interaction seemed to be increasingly common among Tyler oldtimers and newcomers, the observer did report a few exceptions. In one case, "A girl in a group of about three white girls started to hold the hand of another girl next to her. Realizing she was Negro, this girl said something I could not catch as she veered away and joined the circle at another point." In another incident, a group of white area residents were playing a game and they seemingly attempted to use pressure to get another white girl to play with them instead of with a Negro transfer. The observer explains:

One little first grader (who is a white neighborhood resident) kept protesting she did not want to play, though three girls from Mrs. _____'s class were trying to make her. She told them she was playing with someone else, and the someone she was referring to was Annette

(a Negro transfer). They had been playing together when they first came up to me.

In the classroom, a few teachers were faced with what they considered to be very delicate situations in regard to the new students. Some of these children were chronically absent, such as in the following example:

Flossie is out of touch with the progress of the class. She has missed so many times, she is lost. Two siblings are in basic classes. Two nurses have made three home visits and told me the mother claims there is no money to buy bread so she can't let Flossie go to school without lunch.

Some effects of her chronic absence on her classroom performance (including the extra time required of the teacher) are apparent in the following observations:

Paper was being passed out. "First and last name on your paper was the only verbal direction until Mrs. _____ showed everyone how to fold their papers in four sections. Flossie, who is left handed, had written FL and erased it. From this early point in the lesson, she never did catch up. She stood, borrowed an eraser from Gail, used it, and returned it to Gail. She wrote her name, but in mixed lower case and upper case letters. Mrs. _____ was walking around checking. "Oh, Flossie, that's not the way you write your name. Stay in the lines." The teacher erased what Flossie had done up until this point, and the child began again. She wrote Flossie _____ in the lines. The next time the teacher checked on work, Flossie was behind. "Flossie, let me see your paper. Did you fold it right?" She had.

The lesson was spelling: am, all, so, said, then, mother, father. Spelling is brought into the first grade curriculum the last third of the year, and Flossie might not have had much spelling before. The proper way to do it is to write the word in a column all the way down the paper. Flossie, instead of writing am six times, wrote six a's, then six m's.

Twice the teacher came and helped Flossie, but she didn't realize the way Flossie was writing. She had publicly reprimanded Nancy for doing her words that way and, though Flossie watched the reprimand, she didn't change her methods. She continued to erase as much as she wrote.

This behavior typifies Flossie's classroom performance throughout much of the school year. For many of the Tyler teachers, this type of performance tended to confirm their initial assumptions about the abilities of the transfer children. Consequently, there was a tendency in the early part of the year for teachers to assume that most of the bused students would perform on the same level as the student in the above example.

As the year progressed, some of the transfer students proved not to conform to these expectations. In fact, a few transfer students gave superior performances and some teachers did not know how to respond to this unanticipated behavior. The following observation is a typical case in which a teacher was obviously confused as indicated in her final statement, "I give up!" In this example, Michael's performance had been discussed prior to the observation, and the teacher had stated that he had very low I. Q. and achievement scores. However, Michael's performance did not conform to the achievement expectations generated by his low scores.

"Open to page 248," was the only direction. Michael began to turn to it without looking at any other student's book. Then he sat with his head in his left hand, and seemed to be staring at the page. The first group of practice sentences were eight sentences or groups of words; the children had to read the words and tell whether or not it was a sentence. All but three or four hands went up on every one, and near the end Miss _____ waited longer and longer before calling on a child each time, hoping for those few to volunteer. No response out of Michael. Then she said, "Now, we shall do these again. Remember, read it out loud, and then tell me the answer." Michael's hand shot up, and she called on him. He read the sentence and gave the correct response. His reading was slow but accurate. She praised him liberally but not overly. The second section, on the next page, involved correcting sentences. The

class was on the third one before Michael realized they had turned the page. He turned it and, in one more sentence, caught up. Then he volunteered for the next one and was called. This time he read "that" for "what" in the middle of the sentence, but no one else noticed it and he was not called on it. Again praised. During the rest of the lesson, which lasted 25 minutes, Mike stayed with the class. He was called on two more times and was correct each time. Then the assignment was to write a certain article which had just been done orally. I (the observer) left the room as the paper was being passed out. Miss _____ handed me a note: "I give up." According to a standardized reading test, Michael scored on the first grade level. The teacher explained later that she was surprised that he could keep up with the class at the third grade level.

Thus, many of the teachers were presented with a conflict. On the one hand, they tended for various reasons to believe that few of the bused children were able to perform on the "Tyler level" of achievement. They feared that these children would cause the achievement rating of the school to drop. On the other hand, a considerable number of the bused students performed well academically and did not present "behavior problems." As a result, many of the teachers were forced to take a second look at their prior assumptions. At the end of the year, some acknowledged that the bused students did not fit one "type" in terms of performance or behavior. The teachers, as well as the youngsters, had apparently had a social learning experience.

III. Dexter Junior High School:

Dexter Junior High School, which serves grades seven, eight, and nine, is located in an area that is above average in socioeconomic status with a median annual family income exceeding \$9,000. The school is, in the words of the observer, "an older-type, three-story building." Dexter enrolled about 540 students, approximately 7 per cent of them Negro, during the 1963-64 school year. The student population increased to nearly 600 in 1964-65, the study year, and the percentage of Negro students more than doubled. Only part of the increased Negro percentage was due to the school system's reassignment of about 75 Negro students from Jefferson to Dexter. Less than half of the reassigned students actually enrolled and remained at Dexter, but over one third of 237 new students at Dexter in 1964-65 were Negro. This reflected an influx of Negro families into the Dexter district as well as the reassignments made to improve racial balance.

Dexter's principal heads the 22-teacher faculty, one member of which is Negro, using authoritarian methods. He is a stern disciplinarian who is hardly noted for his subtlety. Dominating his austere office is a large picture of him bearing the legend, "Hail to the Chief," and in the corner of the room lie an ominous ball and chain. These set the overall tone.

Although a number of the children feel that the principal operates as a "dictator" in what they characterize as a "prison setting," a majority of the teachers apparently approve of his "no-nonsense" stance toward early adolescents. He and the vice principal frequently patrol the halls in search of "trouble-makers." Threats are a primary mechanism of control. Often, the principal stays near the cafeteria during lunch period so as to spot any situation that might require his intervention. The observer notes, for example, that the following episode is not atypical:

A voice was calling for quiet over the cafeteria P. A. system. The room quieted down somewhat, but there was still an undercurrent of voices. The principal headed for the microphone. "All right, students, I want it absolutely silent in this room. If you aren't, I'll be in my office until four and so will anyone who talks." The cafeteria became silent and he walked the length of it, turned, and started back. As soon as the groups of students reached the hall outside, the noise began again.

The principal appeared and told everyone in the hall to "Be Quiet!" At one point, he turned to a teacher and said, "Maybe they want us to use the paddle. Seems to me they are asking for it!"

The principal and vice principal employ considerable physical contact in their dealings with students, e.g., "playful" arm-wrestling allegedly intended to convey a sense of paternal interest. Not always does the student react as desired or expected:

The principal and vice principal use a good deal of physical contact when reprimanding or advising the pupils. One incident came up where the vice principal took hold of a boy's arm. The boy was a new Negro student, a transfer from Jefferson. The boy brushed his arm away, and a hot exchange of words took place. It ended up downtown, at the central offices of the school district. The boy told school officials at the meeting that the vice principal threatened to "knock his teeth out." The vice principal denied this. In a later meeting, however, he admitted that he had made this statement. It seems that both the principal and the vice principal feel that in "touching" the students, they are projecting a kind-but-firm father-image. Some of the students resent this treatment.

The teachers, reports the observer, follow the lead of the principal in supervising student behavior. They carry their classroom responsibility for maintaining order into the halls, the lunchroom, and elsewhere on the school grounds. Microphones issue "Line up!" orders at lunchtime. This air of regimentation fills the school.

In the classroom, many of the Dexter teachers resort to threats in their efforts to establish order. They often threaten to lower students' grades, although the grade is intended to mirror academic achievement and not behavior. Along with the threats may come ridicule:

This is an eighth grade mathematics class. Mrs. P. started off by telling the class how poorly they had been doing and this was the reason for her bad mood. She called the first row to go to the board to work some of the examples. Among the four students who went to the board, two of them were new white stu-

dents, Pete and Pat. Neither of them was able to compute the problem. Mrs. P. made both of them stay in the front of the room as the next group came up. She did not say much to Pete but she belittled at Pat in front of everyone. She used terms like, "Now how can you do a stupid thing like that?" and, "For God's sake, Pat, what is the matter with you?" As Pat again did a problem wrong, the teacher singled her out for another berating. "Did you pass seventh grade math? Are you sure you did? You certainly don't belong in here. Now class, look at Pat's work and tell her what she is doing wrong."

The students respond to the rigid school setting with a low level of class attentiveness, participation, and response. This general trend is counterbalanced in some cases where an individual teacher is able to develop better task orientation in the class:

This is a seventh grade history class. There are 28 pupils, 7 of them Negro. As the students came into the room, they took their seats without any unusual amount of talking or hanging around each other's desks. The room was amazingly quiet and the final bell for the start of class was really not necessary, for the students were waiting for the class to begin. The content of the material covered in the class centered on six or seven concepts and words that Mr. H. thought were important. He was very pleased with the responses the students gave him to such terms as debtor, creditor, tenant farmer, profit, and other general business concepts. Mr. G. then gave a "pep talk" about the importance of a college education. The students seemed to be familiar with such a talk, but listened attentively. At the end of the period, Mr. H. praised the class for their understanding of the material and said that they were ahead of the time he thought they might need to cover the chapter.

However, this seems to be an exception.

Dexter's Parent-Teachers' Association is essentially a white, well-structured organization to which two-thirds of the parents belong. Attendance and participation at the meetings are high. The PTA generally regards the principal favorably, considering him a

"good administrator."

Integration Comes to Dexter:

Although the approximately 35 students who were transferred from the inner-city to Dexter Junior High School represented a small portion of the 237 new children who entered that school in the fall of 1964, they were, nevertheless, significant in terms of the school's reactions to their presence. These reactions may have been exacerbated because other new Negro students, who had just moved into the Dexter district, could have been confused with them.

The principal expressed the following attitude about the new situation for his school:

De facto segregation is when you take a district such as Dexter which has a Negro population of 7 per cent and create a new district including more disadvantaged, culturally handicapped students and raise the Negro population to 18 per cent.

Commenting upon what should be done, he stated that:

. . . the new Negro students have to be socialized before they can be educated. It is not right to take kids from one junior high school and drop them into another. We have to be careful not to give the white kids the impression that we let Negro kids get away with things. The children coming in under the Board's plan cannot cope with the kids already here.

The principal's attitude toward the former Jefferson students was similar to his reaction to the research observer's presence at Dexter. He often expressed suspicion and uneasiness. The following excerpt from the observer's notes may be illustrative:

On September 23rd, at 8:00 in the morning, I met the principal in the secretary's office at the school. I was trying to obtain a locker. After the principal had directed me to see someone about it, he began a tirade against the Board of Education and accused me of spying for the Superintendent of Schools. The vice principal and three teachers were in the office at the time. I told him that I wasn't a spy for anyone and that all of my observations were strictly confidential. As

I started for the door, he called me, saying that no one scared him because he had the security of the big "R." He then asked me if I knew what the big "R" was, and I said I didn't. He explained that it stood for retirement. He said that he had worked in this "racket" for forty years and neither I nor the superintendent worried him in the least. I left the room.

A few weeks later, the observer encountered the principal in the faculty room. In this conversation, the original "spy" allegations remained intact:

As I entered the room, the principal informed those present that the superintendent's "spy" was here and everyone should be careful of what they said. I apologized to the principal, saying that I was sorry I hadn't convinced him that I wasn't a spy. He didn't bring the topic up again until a school social worker came in the room. The principal greeted him by saying, "Be careful what you say, or he'll report you to the superintendent."

The principal also expressed stereotyped opinions of Negroes in a conversation which involved him, the observer, the school nurse, the coach, and another teacher, all of whom were in the faculty room:

As I sat down to have a cup of coffee with the people assembled in the room, the principal began to speak. I realized that he was addressing me. He told me that they had just admitted a "Wonder Boy" to the school. He was a Negro boy who had been ordained a minister when he was three years old. He said he thought the boy would earn a lot of money because "they" make good preachers and "a lot of people will pay good money to have one of them."

The reactions of the Dexter parents, according to the principal, were not hostile when they were informed about the Board's plan. He said that, "They showed much less resistance than did parents in other districts such as the Tyler School district. Dexter received only two phone calls from the parents concerning this matter of racial balance. I attribute this low resistance to the PTA, which is very fair-minded."

When the plan involving the transfer students from an inner

city school was announced, however, the Dexter teachers were apprehensive. They seemed to be afraid that achievement of students in the existing student body would be hindered by the presence of the former Jefferson youngsters. One teacher asked the observer, "What do you do to get these transfer kids to take on responsibility like the other students?" Early in the year, the former Jefferson students were branded by many of the teachers as "irresponsible," "troublemakers," "slow learners," "potential failures," and the like. These feelings were transmitted to the observer both in and out of the classroom:

I observed in Mrs. W.'s homeroom today. Before the class started she told me that I didn't have to observe in her homeroom if I didn't want to because there were no problems in the class. She did, however, feel that I should come to her second period class because there were, "You know, the transfers," in that particular class. I explained to Mrs. W. that I was here to look at all of the students in general and at the new students, Negro or white, in particular.

Another instance in which a member of Dexter's faculty demonstrated a negative opinion of the youngsters who had transferred from Jefferson to Dexter involved the librarian:

I arrived at school at 12:50. The classes had begun for the fifth period. I went to the library on the second floor. As I was going into the room, Mrs. Q. explained that this year she very seldom left the library. "Last year, if I had to leave to do something, I knew that the students would put their passes in the box and there would be no trouble. With the students we have this year, I don't dare leave this room." I said, "Why, has there been any kind of trouble?" Mrs. Q. said, "No, but that's because I don't go anywhere where I can't see the door. Whenever anyone comes in, I get back before any trouble can start."

One seventh grade teacher was engaged in a research study that was limited to the new Negro transfer students. She compared the former student body at Dexter with the Negro transferees by labeling the latter as "potential failures." The observer remarked that this teacher not only looked upon the new Negro students as "potential failures," but also singled them out in the classroom

by administering special tests to them while the rest of the class worked on classroom material. Thus, in some classrooms, the students who had transferred from Jefferson were made to feel "different."

Particularly at the start of the year, the observer noticed racial groupings and other signs which seemed to show that the transferred youngsters were isolated from the ongoing processes of life at Dexter:

This is a ninth grade home economics class. There are 13 girls in the class, and nine of them are Negro. The four white girls and four of the Negro girls are new at Dexter. The home economics room is the best furnished, best lighted, and most attractive room at Dexter. There was a definite racial difference in grouping. The nine Negro girls sat along the table on the northern and eastern sides. The four white girls sat at the southern end of the table. Each group interacted only with its seated members. One of the white girls tried to show off for her group and the teacher made her move her chair to the front of the white group and away from them somewhat. The girl went through a few antics after she was moved, pushing her chair back and forth and making comments to the other white girls. This behavior drew no comments or attention from the Negro girls. . . .

I went to a ninth grade history class. There are 25 students in the room, including one new white boy and one new Negro girl from Jefferson. The rest of the class is composed of three Negro students who live in the area and 20 white students who live in the area. Michael, the new white child, didn't know any answers and left blanks on his paper. He looked around the room while the other students wrote on their papers. The new Negro student, Leslie, kept her eyes on her own desk and apparently knew the answers. There was a racial grouping: the Negro students all sat in the first two rows; the whites, in the other four.

Adjustment to Dexter was difficult for both the new white students and the Negro youngsters who had previously attended Jefferson School. Throughout the year, various teachers complained to

the principal that the new children were "defiant" and engaged in "agitating behavior" in their classes. The observer noted that the principal responded to such complaints by stating that he would "get the school social worker [integration specialist] after them."

Although differential treatment of the new students from the established students was prevalent in the classrooms for both new Negro and white pupils, the former Jefferson children seemed to suffer the greater injustice. When situations needing discipline arose, the new Negro students often received unusually harsh punishment. The observer recorded the following incident which reveals the type of action taken by the administration against a new transfer student from Jefferson:

The bell rang for the start of the third lunch period at 12:11. While I was standing in line outside of the cafeteria I noticed James, a white area student who has regularly attended Dexter. He is a ninth grade boy whom I have seen in gym class several times. He was fooling around with several other boys, and the horseplay was quite rough. The boys were hitting each other and pushing each other out of line. A ninth grade teacher walked past but said nothing to the boys. (All were white.) Another teacher, who was serving as the hall monitor, did not come up to do anything to the boys. Another ninth grade teacher walked by but did nothing. I mention this incident because it was at this same spot in the lunch line where Larry, a former Jefferson student and a Negro boy, was caught for doing the same thing as James was doing and it led to his suspension. Yet, nothing was done to the white area students and, in particular, to James. James has a reputation for being a troublemaker, and I have seen him exhibit nothing but disruptive and malicious behavior in the school.

Some of the new Negro pupils were so acutely aware of the manner in which they were treated by various faculty members that they reported their perceptions to the vice principal. At one time during the spring semester, the observer reported that two of the former Jefferson students, both eighth graders, went to the vice principal concerning their feelings.

The integration specialist at Dexter, told me that a teacher was reported to the administration

by two Negro boys for what they considered to be prejudicial treatment in class. The boys told the vice principal, in the specialist's presence, that their teacher made them say "please" for everything they requested but did not make this demand of white students in the same class. The boys have Miss G. for a study hall, and she will not let them go to the library during this period. The vice principal listened to the boys and then suggested that since they have this teacher for only one period, they should try to overlook her behavior. One of the boys, Ray, said he didn't feel they had to overlook her treatment of them since they had her study hall several times a week. He was insistent that something be done about the situation. Ray then stated that he would call up his mother for support, if this was needed to back his position. According to the integration specialist, the boy's mother did arrive at school the next day to find out whether her son could be supported in his claims.

Several times during the 1964-1965 school year, Dexter's integration specialist spoke with the observer about the problems of the school. On one occasion, he made the following statement:

I have had a feeling that some of the teachers and others here at Dexter are quite prejudiced. Some people from CORE were here to investigate the violation of one of the student's rights. I know that several of the kids' civil rights have been violated. A new Negro student in the seventh grade, Tom, refused to say the words, "with liberty and justice for all" when his class pledged allegiance to the flag. Instead, he said, "with liberty and justice for some." This caused some concern with the teacher. Tom explained to the teacher that he felt the "for all" portion of the pledge is false. He was reported to the principal and the CORE officials became involved in the incident in support of the boy.

The integration specialist's charge of prejudice at Dexter was directed in part toward the principal. One issue which came up involved complaints from some businessmen in the school area who threatened to close their stores during the time that the students were coming to and returning from school. It was their opinion

that Dexter students were stealing from their places of business. When the principal heard of the complaints, he said, "They don't even know if it was someone from Dexter. It could have been kids from another school. I don't think it was a Dexter student, not even the colored ones."

Some of the new pupils, both Negro and white, were unable to conform to the structure of learning at Dexter. The reactions of many of these youngsters were identical. As indicated by the observer, they simply withdrew from the class setting:

Mrs. R. began this eighth grade science class by giving a practice session of questions which would be similar to those asked on the test the children were about to take. It lasted ten minutes, and then Mrs. R. read 25 multiple choice questions to the class. Carl, a Negro area student, who has been at Dexter, seemed to have no trouble and answered all the questions. John, a white area student, puzzled over some questions and left two of them blank. As the last question was being asked by Mrs. R., a Negro boy walked into the room, took a seat away from everyone else, and stared straight ahead with no expression on his face. Mrs. R. went over to him and said, "Take out a piece of paper, Alan, and I'll give you the questions while the rest of the class is finishing up." Alan said, "I'm not taking a test." "Come on Alan, get some paper." "I told you I'm not taking a test." Mrs. R. finally said, "Alan, if you don't take the test you'll get a zero. Now get some paper out." The rest of the class was watching them. She said, again, "Alan, get a piece of paper." "What did I tell you? I'm not taking the test and that's it." Mrs. R. walked towards her desk, obviously shaken, and said, "Well, I guess it's up to you, but don't blame anyone else." Alan sat until the class ended and then left the room ahead of the others. He is a new transfer student from Jefferson.

It was a common experience for the new students to help one another in class if they were having difficulty in answering the questions posed by the teacher. In such cases, there was often a good deal of interaction between the former Jefferson students and the new, white, neighborhood youngsters. The observer noticed that this kind of mutual assistance behavior was exhibited particularly

during the latter half of the year, perhaps as a defensive measure against the older, established students.

This eighth grade math class has three new Negro students and three new white students, all girls. The class began at 8:40. The first part was devoted to homework. After the papers were handed in, the class started working on new problems and Mrs. H. picked different youngsters to go to the board and put the answer up for the class. During this time, none of the new students volunteered to go to the front of the room. They were holding conversations with each other while the students who were not new were giving the answers. Cindy, a new white student was chosen to go to the board and work. She didn't appear to be too sure of what she was putting down. She turned around and gave a "Help me!" look to Deborah, a former Jefferson student. Deborah shook her head as if to tell Cindy that her answer was not right. She then held up some fingers and Cindy, nodding, turned around and did the problem again. This time it was completed correctly and Mrs. H. chose someone else to take Cindy's place at the blackboard.

In certain classes, the new transfer students acted as informal class leaders and, at times, were able to control the work at hand and manipulate the teacher's direction of it.

In this ninth grade business class, the work consists chiefly of Mrs. P. reading the correct way of organizing the balance sheet. All except three of the students appeared to be involved in the material initially. The three students who were not participating were Elliot, a new white student, Eugene, a Negro student who has been attending Dexter for several years, and Janice, a white student, who also is part of the established student body. Elliot sat staring off in space or turning around to look out the window. Mrs. P. asked him what he was doing and he replied, "Nothing." She said, "As long as you are in the room you'll go through the motions." He didn't respond to her or do any work. Mrs. P. then asked Eugene if he was "with the class." He said he got lost the day before and hadn't caught up. Janice was talking and laughing continually. The teacher told her

to be quiet and stop distracting her neighbors. Debra and Susan, both Negro students formerly from Jefferson, began to ask questions and answer them by calling out "Mrs. P.?" before they spoke. They changed the whole tempo of the class. Debra frequently made noises such as clearing her throat to emphasize her responses. She threw her arms up in the air at times. Her answers were always correct. Once, she caught a mistake Mrs. P. had made in labeling one account. Debra belabored the point after the teacher admitted her mistake, doing it in such a way that she was congratulated for sensing the error. Debra was in complete control of her gestures and explanations. Mrs. P. was moved to remark that Debra would be a good bookkeeper because of her attention to detail. Both were held up as "models" for the class which, in effect, centered around them.

Activities outside the class, as in gym period, provided new students with opportunities for informal leadership. The observer noted an eighth grade gym class in which a former Jefferson student acted in this capacity:

Eleven boys were present in this gym class. The only new Negro boy was Ted. He seemed to be relaxed with the other boys. They, in turn, seemed to be attracted to him, and he was involved in quite a bit of "chatter" while the activity was taking place. Ted was chosen to head one group of five boys for drills. He lined his boys up and told them how to do the particular drill they were working on. One of the drills called for someone to stand in the center of the circle. A short, white boy who lives in the area and has been at Dexter for two years took his turn in the center of Ted's group. The boys started to throw the ball over the short boy's head. Ted grabbed the ball and told them to stop. He said, "Bounce it on the floor, give him a chance!" When the small boy finally finished and came back to the circle, Ted ruffed up the boy's hair. He grinned at Ted and took his place. For the rest of the period, Ted played fairly and unaggressively. He is clearly in command of the group.

A seventh grade history class taught by the only Negro teacher at Dexter involved a great deal of "give and take" between the

teacher and her class. The flavor of this particular class is captured by the observer in the following report:

There are 25 students in this class, including two new Negro pupils and seven new white pupils. The room was filled when I walked in. Miss L. told the class that the principal and the integration specialist would be in the room but that they were not to be afraid of them. The students all laughed when she suggested they think of the visitors as "people," for a change. Miss L. explained that the students were giving papers on immigrant and minority groups and their contributions to U.S. culture and society. At the end of the presentations, members of the class would ask questions, discuss the relative merits of the papers, and suggest what grade each student who made a presentation should receive. The basis for the grades was a judgment on the voice projection of the student, the material in the paper, and how well the student used his personal opinion and defended what he said. The first paper was given by Thomas, a new Negro pupil. It was entitled "The Contributions of the Negro." Thomas dealt with Civil Rights, Science, Education, Music, Law, and International Relations. Part of this student's discussion was a detailed description on "how the white man could let the Negro alone when he is engaging in any endeavor." (I speculated that perhaps Tom would like this philosophy to be effected at Dexter). Members of the class, including five new white students, discussed and then evaluated Tom's paper, which was given an "A." Many of the white students stated that his presentation was "informative." During the period, other papers were given on "Jewish Contributions to American Society" and "Irish Contributions to American Culture." Throughout the presentations, Miss L. gently led the class and prompted voluntary student evaluations.

In summary, the new students became familiar with the principal's policy of "Get tough with them and they'll come around," and with the teachers' use of every opportunity to point up a moral: "Good behavior is good citizenship." Several of the new students did not become well acquainted with members of the existing student

body at Dexter. However, many transfer and other new students, both Negro and white, coped with the system and related to the established members of the student body, both in classroom and non-classroom situations.

IV. Jefferson Junior High School:

Jefferson Junior High, serving grades seven through nine, is considered a "slum school" and has an extremely low academic standing.¹ In 1960, it ranked between the fifth and tenth percentiles on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, compared with an average between the 60th and 75th percentiles for the other junior high schools in the city. It is located near one edge of the city's Negro ghetto, where family incomes and education levels are lower than in any other area. The building is a rather old, drab, brick one with a parking lot for teachers but no landscaping or outdoor play area, and the principal seems to be at the center of Jefferson's tense, foreboding atmosphere. In school, he is a withdrawn man who seems to make no attempt to relate to the students. His appearances outside the closed door of his office are infrequent and are often enroute to business which takes him outside the school altogether. Most of his personal encounters with students and faculty occur at assemblies and faculty meetings at which he does most or all of the talking. The observer reports one such appearance as follows:

This day was the first assembly of the semester. The children were brought into the auditorium by homerooms. I was aware of what seemed like a great number of teachers patrolling up and down. [The principal] arrived, moved in and out and around, giving directions to one child or another, cautioning them to stop fighting or stop making so much noise. The situation reminded me of a prison with guards posted everywhere. During the program, which was devoted to American patriotism, [the principal] stood up and spoke a few flag-waving words to the assembly: "We live in a great country where it is possible to achieve our dreams . . ."

The well-liked vice principal, on the other hand, does considerable legwork around the school, frequenting classes and making himself agreeably known to the student body. About 15 per cent of the teachers are Negro, and most are young. Included are

¹ Jefferson has since been closed by the school system, as is described elsewhere in this report, but the present tense is used here in the interest of consistency.

a variety of special teaching and other personnel, some of whom are affiliated with the Jefferson Project. This faculty is charged with carrying out the often arbitrary and unanticipated directives emanating from the principal's office in its work with a student body that--after as before the desegregation decision--was over three-quarters Negro.

The principal, despite his apparent reluctance to come into personal contact with others in the school, makes his wishes known through bulletins and directives placed in the teachers' mailboxes or announced over the public address system or in staff meetings. The tone of such messages to teachers is often threatening or insulting. In reminding them of the rules about lavatory and locker passes, for example, he noted that, "Any teachers not following through on these directions will be reported to the central office for a conference." Teacher morale is low, and turnover is high.

At the beginning of the second semester, the principal required the teachers to submit five day lesson plans to him a week in advance. The observer noted the reactions to this order at a teachers' meeting held three weeks later:

There was a kind of tension in the room. The teachers had had no previous notice of the latest plan, no discussion as to the reasons for his decision, and no knowledge of what use the plans would be put to. Considerable uneasiness and resentment filled the air. Shortly, the principal and the vice principal entered the meeting. The teachers looked everywhere but at the principal, who said that he requested the lesson plans so that he could see the kinds of things the teachers planned for their classes and encourage the faculty to think hard about all the dimensions of their jobs as teachers. I could not tell whether the teachers' resentment was dissipated by the principal's words. They were relieved, however, when they learned they would no longer have to submit the lesson plans, after which the principal said, "at this time"--keeping his foot in the door to reverse his decision at a later time should he deem it necessary. The faculty did not act as participants in this meeting. Rather, they were recipients. They were there to receive their directives.

Jefferson students, who come largely from two elementary schools of low socioeconomic status, are divided into homerooms according to their demonstrated academic ability. Some are in the "fast" group, some in the "able" group (apparently those who seem to have ability and are not performing up to potential), and the others in the "basic" group (those who, for whatever reason, learn more slowly than the other two groups). The grouping system is flexible and permits the same child, for example, to be in a basic group in math and a fast group in English.

An example of a seventh grade basic class in English is recorded by the observer as follows:

This class is a combined group from all the seventh grades. In this class are 14 children, 11 Negro and three white. The regular teacher, Mrs. B., and the speech teacher, Miss A., are in charge. Miss A. wrote several sentences on the board and had the children punctuate them in various ways. She helped them discover how the meaning of the sentence changes with changing emphasis on the words. The students were slow to catch on at first but, as they become more caught up in the "game," many would call out the answers with the proper emphasis. They seemed more comfortable in calling out the answers than when they were called upon to perform. The speech teacher stayed in the room for only 20 minutes and then Mrs. B. took over. The regular lesson began--the functions of the comma in punctuation. The children were using a special text which looked like a programmed learning text. Mrs. B. expressed pleasure at the children's understanding of the lesson. There was a lot of "give and take" in the class. At one time, a student used ain't and double negatives as she was reciting. She raised her hand and said, "Mrs. B., I ain't never saw a word like that." Mrs. B. said, "I ain't never saw? I AIN'T NEVER SAW!" The child looked defeated and said in a low, discouraged voice, "Gosh, Mrs. B., when I say seen you get mad at me." Although this child knew the proper sentence construction, she was not able to express herself in correct grammar. The students in this class, generally speaking, are able to call the rules to mind and apply them, but their difficulty with speech pat-

terns prevents them from relating their ideas. They struggle, but they participate.

In comparison, the children in the able group not only understand the material presented in class but are not limited in their expression of it by a poor scholastic background. The following occurred in a seventh grade English class in the able category:

This is another of the combined classes, and this group is what is known as the able group. There are 15 students in this class, three white and 12 Negro. The subject for the day was punctuation. Three girls were asked to go to the board and write sentences which were dictated to them. Each sentence was reviewed by the class and, in each case, the sentence was perfect. The children were attentive and there was very little fooling around. The teacher, Mrs. W., had been telling the class that when the word "no" comes at the beginning of a sentence, it is usually answering a question and is followed by a comma. Barry raised his hand and said, "a case where 'No' would start a sentence and not be followed by a comma would be a sentence like, 'No socks are in the drawer!'" This threw Mrs. W., who flubbed around and finally told him (Barry) that his example was not even a sentence. He did not get credit for an astute observation which was entirely correct. Later during the class, Barry called attention to something Mrs. W. said that was incorrect, and she went out of her way to commend him for picking up her error and encouraged the rest of the class to do the same.

One group of students in the seventh grade at Madison take an eighth grade science course. According to the teacher, this type of learning is both an "enrichment course" and an introduction to independent study. There are thirteen in the class, twelve Negro students and one white. They are in the "fast" group academically, and the following observation is illustrative of their work:

As the children settled down to their various projects, Mr. B. came over to explain what was going on in this class. The seventh grade does not have science as a subject. However, some

children who perform well may take this course, which is taught in the eighth grade, and follow their own interests. The children pick topics on which to read and must use several source materials. They use the library, find appropriate books, and submit written as well as oral reports. The students are graded on their grammar, continuity of ideas, and sentence structure as well as their utilization of reading material. Linda was doing a report on volcanos and was told that having read one book on the subject did not qualify her for writing a report. Mr. B. asked her to exhaust the subject in more depth and then praised her for her pictorial construction of a volcano. Robert was working at a table, drawing a poster having to do with rocket travel and planets. Shirley asked Mr. B. if there were a book on nursing in the room. There was not, and she was given a pass to the library. Mr. B. told her to get the librarian's assistance in finding books so that she could begin her project. Roslyn was working on a cardboard reproduction of a microscope, learning what it does and how. Her model looked authentic. Only one child was not industrious. Bonnie had forgotten her books for the third day in a row, and Mr. B. ran out of patience with her. He had her sit down and write one hundred times, "I will not forget my book." He told me he does not usually impose such useless punishment on the children but he didn't know what else to do with this particular child. I left the room impressed by the kinds of things which were being done by this group.

The behavior that the students exhibit in the classrooms varies a great deal. In most of the "able" and "fast" classes, there is orderly participation and enthusiasm. In the "basic" classes, disorderly behavior seems to occur more frequently. The kinds of behavior displayed often depend on the teacher and his style, however, and the teachers vary greatly. In general, the observer notes that the students in many classes show little involvement or enthusiasm and comments that this often mirrors their teacher's detachment. Disruptive tactics reported include shouting out in class, talking back to the teacher, walking around the room, and tapping on desks with pencils and other objects. These techniques may be largely attempts to get attention from peers and/or teachers.

The school is rigidly structured in many ways. All teachers are expected to be on duty outside their rooms to maintain order in the halls as the students move from one classroom to another. Talking is permitted, but any youngster seen pushing, walking too fast, or playing in the halls is sent to the office. Office passes are required for trips to the lavatory and student lockers. The overall atmosphere is tense and electric, as if something were expected to explode unless it is kept under control.

There seems to be little sense of unity or shared purpose among the faculty. Despite the principal's efforts to impose uniform practices, there is wide variation in teaching methods, discipline patterns, relationships between students and teachers, and the like. Some teachers, for example, ignore misbehavior, others send the offender to the office or the cloakroom, some raise their voices or threaten, and some use physical punishment. Nor is there a direct correlation between strictness or severity of punishment and students' respect for and cooperation with teachers. Observations were reported of at least one teacher who occasionally "spanks" students but is clearly concerned about them and enjoys their respect and confidence. In sum, however, the school can be described as a laissez-faire setting for teachers despite the "tinderbox" feeling transmitted by the principal and the generally stringent behavioral requirements imposed on students.

The principal and the vice principal consider the "PTA" (renamed "Jefferson School Community Organization" in 1962) to be weak and historically unassertive. The purpose of the group, which recruits the participation of persons in the community in addition to parents, is to find out what goes on at Jefferson and what kinds of progress can be made to raise the educational standards of the school. According to the principal, parents of Jefferson's students are becoming more vocal, although the level of participation remains disappointingly low. Most of the parents seem to have too few resources to be effective in their demands for a better education for their children.

Integration Comes to Jefferson:

Although more than 80 per cent of the white Peterson students originally reassigned to predominantly Negro Jefferson evaded the transfer through means discussed elsewhere in this report, Jefferson Junior High did become a receiving school for 52 redistricted students in the fall of 1964 according to official figures. Only 31 of these newcomers were white, however, and the racial composition of the student body was virtually unchanged. The white transfer students were largely of Italian ancestry and lower

socioeconomic class backgrounds. Despite the high attrition rate among the youngsters originally scheduled for redistricting and the parental reactions documented earlier in this report, the Jefferson principal reported relatively mild parental opposition. He summed up the situation as follows:

If the parents had any real concerns, they were never voiced. At the same time, they never said they were for integration. Their grievance against the Board of Education for closing "their" school and shifting the students to Jefferson lay in the fact that they were upset that their children would have to walk farther to school. I did talk with some parents on an individual basis, however, and found that there was concern on their part in having their youngsters go to a school where the majority of the students was Negro. They were afraid that fights would occur and their kids would be socially "left out" of activities. I told them that their school had too few students (at the junior high level) to get a good educational program there, they did not have the facilities which junior high schools should have as mandated by the state, and there was no lunch facility available, so the youngsters could not stay in school all day. It was my personal belief that the children would have been transferred in any case, whether to promote racial balance or because their school could not survive due to its lack of necessary equipment.

In the beginning of the year, notes the observer, the white students transferred from Peterson often failed to participate in classroom activities and tended to withdraw.

It is the second week of school. In this ninth grade class, two white transfer boys were sitting together by the windows. Both looked sleepy and were positioned generously on the seat and across the table. They were not taking notes, books were piled up on top of each other unopened, and one boy had to struggle to keep his eyes open at all. His feet were widely spaced beneath the table, one straight out in front, one to the side. His head was resting on his books, facing the teacher, and one arm was under his head while

the other arm lay across the table. The other boy was sitting low in the chair with his head resting against the back of it. Mr. C. finally said to them, "All right, you boys, sit up in your chairs." The two Negro boys sitting closest to them exchanged smiles. Not once did the two new boys answer questions or in any way relate to what was going on in the room.

The newcomers did not seem to be given preferential treatment, however, as they were included in the almost constant admonishments against "wrong behavior" issued by the teachers during the first few weeks of school.

While the transfer students were not taking much part in academic activities, they were mildly disruptive in class. This kind of behavior was exhibited particularly in the early months of school. Since these students did not know many of the Jefferson oldtimers, they seemed to feel the need to draw attention to themselves in class so as to make the other children and the teacher recognize their existence. The observer recorded the following incident as typical of the transfer students' activities:

This is an eighth grade social studies class. There are 24 children in the room. Sixteen are boys, and four of these are white transfers. There are eight girls, one of them a white transfer. The child who made his presence known most was John, a transfer. His manner was disruptive in that he constantly spoke out without waiting to be called upon and several times got out of his chair and roamed about the room. He and two other white boys sat in a row together. The other two were quiet, not participating in the recitation but aware of what was happening in class. They followed directions from the teacher. The remaining white boy played around with the Negro boys on either side of him on their row. He moved the desk of the boy in front of him, and that boy turned about and socked the white boy, not hard, smiling as he did it. The two Negro boys and the white boy often exchanged remarks and seemed on friendly terms with each other.

On the whole, teachers at Jefferson did not ignore the former Peterson students or separate them from the ongoing process of classroom activity. However, some teachers did tend to by-pass

the transfer students.

There are six boys in this class, four white transfer children and two Negro students who have previously attended Jefferson. There are also 15 girls, 13 Negro and two white (one transfer). The tables are arranged in a large U shape. The four white boys sat beside three Negro children at one table, and the two white girls sat together at the other end. They whispered, laughed and, in general, paid not the slightest attention to the class activities. One of the white boys was asleep. Another white boy moved to a table by himself and stretched out across two chairs in full length. He looked comfortable but was not interested in the business at hand. Two Negro boys in the back of the room were laughing, but stopped when the rest of the class did not respond. The class discussion was on gravity. The teacher was asking questions, and the group inside the U portion of the table was eagerly raising their hands. This group was composed of Negro girls from Jefferson. They seemed interested in the subject and in getting the correct answers. Because of their behavior, the teacher kept feeding them information and questions very rapidly. Occasionally, they would not get quite the right answer or not the complete answer, and he would take time to show them why another answer would be better. These students really knew what was going on and showed it. They contributed much to the class, were quick and bright, and were rewarded by the teacher as he constantly challenged them. The girls expressed themselves clearly and concisely. With this group, there was no need for the teacher to establish order first and teach second. This teacher usually does not permit sleeping in class, but he was caught up in the excitement of the Jefferson students' response and consequently let the transfer boys sleep. At the same time, he seemed to forget their presence.

During the course of the year, there was an increasing tendency on the part of the white transfer students to mix with the Negro students at Jefferson. In the early weeks and months, the observer noted that white students tended to group with each other in

some classrooms and in the lunchroom. Toward the end of the first semester, the separation of one racial group from the other seemed to disappear as the students came to know all their fellow students. The following observation of three seventh grade classes watching a movie in the lunchroom describes the situation as the year progressed:

Four white transfer girls were flanked on each side by a Negro student. They were obviously enjoying each other's company and were talking quietly so as not to attract the attention of the teachers. At times, they whispered in each other's ears; at other times, they exchanged written notes. The white boys were dispersed throughout the room--among the boys, of course; seventh grade boys do not sit with seventh grade girls! No two white boys sat together. I have noticed since the year began that the transfer boys are more inclined to mix in with all the boys and white girls tend to stay together more. Today, however, I am not aware of the girls "sticking together."

When the school year began, the "in-group" of Jefferson students was reported by the observer to have ostracized the new children. The barriers apparently began to break down as the once strange environment became familiar. It was the observer's opinion that, as time wore on and the "settling down" process took hold, the oldtimers showed increased evidence of acceptance of the new students and, in turn, the transferees became more relaxed and accepting of the old students. Some of the white transfer students, particularly the girls, were increasingly included where before they had been excluded. There was no overt evidence reported of lack of acceptance of any child by any other which appeared to be based on race. Fighting and name-calling did not exist either in the class or outside. Any racial feelings that may have existed took subtle forms. Rather, pre-existing friendship patterns seemed to be the basis of student groupings at Jefferson. Children who had been friends before seemed to determine who could interact with them, at least at the beginning of the year.

The white transfer children, who might not even have known one another at Peterson Junior High, had a common bond by virtue of having come from the same school and being members of a minority group in a new setting. Furthermore, a majority of the transfer students lived far from the school and their new class-

mates and had a long walk home. When spontaneous groups were racially mixed after school, it was more common to see a white boy walking home with a group of Negro boys than a white girl with a group of Negro girls. White girls who were transferred to Jefferson seemed to be the most isolated group in the school. Negro girls, however, according to the observer, interacted freely with all of the other children, white or Negro, girls or boys, particularly in the latter half of the year.

Even toward the end of the school year, some of the former Peterson children remained on the fringe at Jefferson. There were isolated instances in the classroom which reflected this apparent "being on the outside." The observer frequently remarked, for example, that when the students chose their own seats, transfer students usually chose a front seat, a back seat, or a seat at the end of a row rather than one in the center. It was as if these youngsters were quite literally "on the fringe" of the class. There seemed to be little administrative concern over the plight of children who were unable to fit in with other students as long as they could fit into the "Jefferson system." If the life experiences of the transfer students differed from those of their classmates, it was up to the individual student to become acclimated at Jefferson. But some did so quite effectively.

The observer recalled a guidance class held at the end of the year in which the teacher asked several Negro students, Jefferson oldtimers, how they would like being in a class with mostly white children. Their answers reflected a fear of moving into an unknown situation that would be dominated by white students: "It would be okay with a gun." "I'd take my knife with me." "I wouldn't like it, but I guess I could get used to it." The teacher asked them why they would need a knife or a gun. "Well, you don't know when they'd gang up on you," was the response. The transfer students did not express this kind of fear. Most of them had begun to feel comfortable at Jefferson by the second semester. One boy who had transferred in September, 1964, wrote an essay in the school newspaper which seemed to reflect the opinions of a large number of the transfer students.

I like it here as much as I did at Peterson. The teachers are understanding and the kids are friendly. The work isn't easy but when you do it, it helps you get along with the teachers. The books and other materials are more plentiful than at Peterson. The principal is nice and I like to take his advice. The vice principal and counselors are fair in solving prob-

lems. The rules are a bit tough but I guess you need rules to run a good school.

Possibly more than any of the other schools, Jefferson is a study in diversity and incongruity. Perhaps largely as a legacy of the Jefferson Project, it provided a variety of classes at different levels to meet the needs of its varied student population. Nevertheless, its general orientation was to the system before the student, and neither the principal nor many of the teachers were able to become meaningfully involved with the children. There were, of course, exceptions--a few outstanding teachers and a few outstanding youngsters who came through unscathed and, perhaps, even better off for having had the experience. But all in all, Jefferson seemed to be a fairly accurate life portrait of the stereotyped inner city junior high school.

V. Concluding Comments:

The portrayals just preceding these comments represent the interpersonal atmospheres of the four receiving schools in connection with the 1964-65 desegregation program. An effort has been made to abstract as objectively as possible from the observers' voluminous recordings of formal and informal school life to create these descriptions. Some tentative findings are summarized here, but a more fully rounded picture may emerge when the test data are examined as well, later in the report.

On the elementary school level, it appears that desegregation was a smoother process at Gilbert School than at Tyler. Several possibly contributing factors are evident: the kind of leadership given by the Gilbert principal; the tone or atmosphere of the school in general and its experience with disabled youngsters in particular; the fact that Gilbert had had more Negroes than Tyler before and that the group of newcomers lived in a contiguous area and was not overwhelmingly Negro; the lack of busing of the new pupils to Gilbert; and the fact that the change at Gilbert was not viewed primarily as designed to relieve racial imbalance. It seems at least plausible that the redistricting at Gilbert would have occurred even in the absence of a de facto segregation protest, and many people involved (including the integration team itself) seem not to have considered the Gilbert situation as a significant part of the desegregation program. Nevertheless, it did contribute somewhat to the alleviation of racial imbalance in the city's schools.

Perhaps the most significant tendency at the junior high school level was the apparently spontaneous rise in intergroup interaction during the course of the year. This seems to have occurred when inner city Negroes entered a predominantly white, middle class junior high school with a rather hostile overall climate as well as when white, lower class youngsters entered a predominantly Negro, lower class junior high where the atmosphere seems best characterized as laissez-faire. "Newness," more than race or social class, may be the critical factor. These findings point to the need for confirming data and, in particular, for research on the stages of the desegregation-integration process and how they can be influenced. In addition, it seems likely that more effective orientation and preparation of the school personnel and others involved might have reduced the time required for assimilation of the "strangers," at least at the three schools other than Gilbert. It is interesting to note, although no conclusion seems possible at this point, that Gilbert is the one school to which no integration specialist was assigned.

Chapter Six - New Student Assimilation

"The Differential Effects of Residential Status on Student Assimilation"

By Richard O. Hope

Note: The following chapter is based on and is largely a verbatim reproduction of Mr. Hope's study. It has, however, been edited and partially rewritten by Jerome Beker, senior author of this report, to protect confidentiality, to eliminate duplication of material presented elsewhere in the report, to meet space limitations, and to fit more closely into the overall style of the report. Any distortion that may have resulted is deeply regretted; by the same token, the fundamental ideas and analysis in the chapter should, in almost all cases, be credited to Mr. Hope.

While this material might seem, at first glance, to be more appropriate for inclusion in the following section on "The Testing Program," it is presented here because it developed as an unanticipated "spin-off" from the participant observation. It should, however, be examined in close association with the other testing material. The chapter may be of particular interest and value to the extent to which it brings theoretical insights and the results of previous research directly to bear on the issues and findings involved. Limitations of time and money precluded this kind of coordination in most other parts of the report. While this approach would have been desirable even in a pilot study such as the current one, it seems to be an imperative for effective work in this area in the future.

I. Orientation of the Study

Problem

The desegregated school offers a most fruitful setting to study the process by which intergroup contact occurs across status and racial lines. The school has served as a setting for many varied types of research. Of particular relevance here are those studies concerned with the "contextual effect" of the school climate on such factors as occupational and educational aspiration, self-image and characteristic behavior among peers. Other studies have considered the differential effect of achieved and ascribed status on the above mentioned variables. Still other studies have focused on the effect of parents' socioeconomic status on the behavior of students in the school setting. This study will focus on the effect of residential status on the behavior of students entering schools which are being desegregated.

More specifically, this study will investigate "adjustment problems" which might result from intergroup contact of students transferred into four public schools in a medium-sized northern city. Intergroup contact will be analyzed in terms of socioeconomic status characteristics of these students. These characteristics will then be compared with each student's rate of assimilation in the receiving school. There will be an attempt to test the validity of the "equal status contact" hypothesis in the school setting.

This hypothesis states that the greater the contact between members of different ethnic or racial groups on an equal status basis, the less will be the prejudiced attitude. According to Gordon Allport: "The trend of evidence favors the conclusion that knowledge about and acquaintance with members of minority groups make for tolerant and friendly attitudes."¹ However, the association is not perfect, nor is it clear whether the knowledge causes the friendliness; or whether friendliness invites the acquiring of knowledge. For this hypothesis to be fully understood, further explanation of this statistical association is needed.

This study will not duplicate the studies of equal status as

¹Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958, p. 254.

traditionally done, i.e., a dyadic relation between persons. Rather, it will be concerned primarily with the assimilation of groups of new students into an existing school system. Thus, it analyzes the equal status contact hypothesis as it applies to the assimilation of individuals into the institution. Therefore, the following proposition, deduced from the equal status contact hypothesis, will be tested in this study: The more congruent the status of the new student is to that of the receiving school, the higher his assimilation rating.

Theoretical Accounting of Relationships

There are many studies which indicate the relatively high association found between socioeconomic status and many different types of behavior. In fact, there are studies, to be described below, which specifically discuss the high statistical relationship between socioeconomic status and assimilation. However, few of them attempt to delineate the processes mediating these associations. It will be the purpose of this section to account for the possible intervening processes mediating the relationship between status and assimilation.¹

Kriesberg discusses the relevance of two major explanations which specify the general processes operating in the relationship found between socioeconomic rank and behavior. The first, a "cultural explanation," is defined as "an observed relationship between socioeconomic rank and a particular behavior item (resulting) from (a) the parental transmission of values and beliefs which in turn determine the behavior or (b) the direct parental transmission of behavior patterns."² This definition implies that each class represents a subculture with an integrated system of values, beliefs and behavior patterns. The other explanation, i.e., the "situational," indicates that behavioral differences are the result of different opportunities. In other words, situational factors operate directly to account for socioeconomic differences in behavior whether they be social factors, e.g., patterns of interaction, or non-social, e.g., differences in financial resources.

¹Louis Kriesberg, "The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Rank and Behavior," Social Problems, X (Spring, 1963), pp. 334-353.

²Ibid., p. 335.

³Seymour S. Bellin, "Extended Family Relations in Later Years of Life," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1951, pp. 85-92.

The situational explanation predicts that members of a certain socioeconomic strata are confronted with similar social, economic, and political pressures which give them common sharable experiences. As a result of these common experiences, not only is there a rapport established but there is elicited a range of patterned behavior which permits greater ease of communication between members of a particular strata rather than between members of different socioeconomic strata. Applying this argument to the present study, it can be hypothesized that the more congruent the new student's socioeconomic status is to that of the majority of the students in the receiving school, the higher his assimilation potential.

Perhaps the earliest literature which lends corroboration to this hypothesis can be seen in the research of the "Chicago School" led by such scholars as Park and Burgess. In developing their well known typology of interracial and international contact, i.e., competition, accommodation, conflict and assimilation, they found that, of the immigrant groups entering America, those who acquired the least distinguishable cultural or racial characteristics¹ assimilated much more easily and rapidly into "American culture."

Later studies focusing on the "equal status hypothesis" reveal not only the importance of having similar characteristics for assimilation to occur but also the primacy of socioeconomic status rather than race in intergroup contact situations. Many of these studies dealt with the effect of intergroup contact and attitude change which is considered a prerequisite for the reduction of intergroup tensions and ultimately the assimilation of group members involved.³ Of the earliest studies done in this area, Young,² Williams,³ and Smith⁴ used experimental methods. In

¹Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, "Assimilation," Introduction to the Science of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. 734-775. E. Franklin Frazier's typology of various approaches used in discussions in racial contacts, in "Race Contact and the Social Structure," American Sociological Review, XIV (1949), pp. 1-11; and E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, Beacon Press; 1957.

²Donald Young, American Minority Peoples. New York: Harper, 1932.

³D. H. Williams, "The Effects of An Interracial Project Upon the Attitude of Negro and White Girls Within the Young Women's Christian Association," Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1934.

⁴F. Treadwell Smith, An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes To-

each case, voluntary interracial groupings were formed expressly for the purpose of studying the effects of intergroup contact on attitudes. In the study reported by Young, a group of white college students heard, as part of their course work, lectures by outstanding Negroes, visited a Negro hospital, etc.; the contacts occurred once a week over the period of one semester. Williams brought fifteen white girls and twenty-three Negro girls into contact in the course of YWCA club activity. Smith's study was based on a two weekend (four day) tour of Harlem by 46 white students at Columbia University. During these visits the students listened to lectures by prominent Negro leaders; met Negro doctors, scientists, writers; were entertained in an upper class Negro home. The Negro and white girls in the Williams study may be considered similar not only in general socioeconomic status but in their roles in the club activity. In the Young and Smith studies, the Negroes presumably were somewhat higher status than the white students, since they not only were individuals of outstanding accomplishments but also occupied something of a teaching position in relation to the students. The relative status of the groups having contact is stressed at this point because of the convictions to be developed shortly, that status relations help to determine the outcome of the contacts.

In all three studies, pre and post, measures of attitudes were used. Young reported very little improvement in attitude toward Negroes on the part of his white students. Since the study is, unfortunately, only sketchily reported, it is difficult to determine what measuring instruments were used and just how much change was observed. Williams, on the other hand, found a significant improvement in the attitudes of the white girls participating in the interracial club. Smith used, in addition to pre and post measurement, a control group of matched students who had also expressed interest in participating in the Harlem tour. Employing a variety of attitude scales, he found substantial improvement on the part of those who had been on the Harlem trips and no improvement on the part of those who were control students; moreover, the improvement in attitude of those who had participated in the trips was largely maintained ten months later.

In addition to these experimental studies, there have been a

ward the Negro. Contributions to Education, No. 887. New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1943.

number of investigations in which respondents' present attitudes were compared with their own reports of prior contact with minority group members. Allport and Kramer,¹ as discussed above, questioned white college students about their prior experience with Negroes and about their present attitudes toward Negroes. They found that, while any contact with Negroes was more likely to be related to favorable attitudes than was no contact at all, certain types of contact more than others were related to favorable attitudes. The contacts most highly related to favorable attitude were those which occurred in school, at work, in recreation, as neighbors and as friends. Allport and Kramer consider the essential characteristic of these contacts to be that of equal status on the part of the Negro and white participants.

Mackenzie² had college students and government employees fill-out a questionnaire which measured present attitude and asked about prior contact with Negroes. She found that favorable attitudes toward Negroes were associated with contacts with Negroes who had "high status," i.e., were college students or professional people, such as doctors, lawyers, or teachers, whereas contact with Negroes of non-professional status tended to be associated with less favorable attitudes. Since the subjects answering the questionnaire had themselves a relatively high economic and educational status, this could be interpreted as supporting the view that equal-status contacts tend to be associated with more favorable attitudes.

Watson,³ in a study devoted to determining some conditions conducive to attitude change, conducted intensive interviews with 45 non-Jewish subjects who reported having undergone changes--either favorable or unfavorable--in attitudes toward Jews. While the number of cases is small, her findings also support the general hypothesis that equal-status contact is associated with favorable attitudes. Of 23 respondents who had contact with Jews of

¹Gordon W. Allport and B. M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," Journal of Psychology, XXII (1946), pp. 9-39.

²Barbara K. Mackenzie, "The Importance of Contact in Determining Attitudes Toward Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLIII (1948), pp. 417-441.

³Jeanne Watson, "Some Social and Psychological Situations Related to Change in Attitude," Human Relations, III (1950), pp. 15-56.

"at least equal status" to that of the respondent, twenty-one were classified as having altered their attitudes in a more favorable direction. Of fourteen respondents who had had contact with Jews of lower status than themselves, ten had changed in attitude in an unfavorable direction.

As indicated above, socioeconomic status has greater significance in determining favorable attitude change than race or ethnic origin. This is further verified by studies done in housing projects. In an unpublished study done by Merton, West and Jahoda,¹ a housing project was reported to have an over-all Negro-white ratio of about 50 to 50. The project was divided, however, into three terraces, in which the proportions of Negroes were 63 percent, 44 percent and zero percent respectively. In the first two terraces, the Negro-occupied buildings were interspersed among the white-occupied buildings. These investigators found that both the number of white respondents reporting friendships with Negroes and the number expressing approval of biracial living were greatest in the terrace having the highest proportion of Negroes, next greatest in the terrace where 44 percent of the tenants were Negroes and smallest in the all-white terrace. Although there was no conclusive evidence as to the initial attitudes of the white tenants in the three terraces, there seemed no reason to suppose that they had differed significantly, since the assignments to dwelling units in the various terraces were not based on tenants' choices. In the terrace with the highest proportion of Negroes there were, of course, the greatest proportion of white tenants living in close proximity to a Negro-occupied building. Here, it may be inferred, the most frequent occasions arose for contact between members of the two races. The conclusion seems justified, therefore, that greater proximity and more frequent contact led to the development both of more friendships between white and Negro tenants and of more favorable attitudes on the part of the white tenants toward biracial living.

This conclusion should be emphasized since propinquity will be considered in the present study. The later study, and the following research to be discussed in the area of housing, lend

¹Robert K. Merton, Patricia S. West and Marie Jahoda, Social Facts and Social Fictions: The Dynamics of Race Relations in Hilltown. Hectographed, New York: Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, June, 1949. (It was to be part of a larger work to be published under the title Patterns of Social Life: Explorations in the Social Psychology and Sociology of Housing.)

support to the conclusion that students living within the boundaries of the schools to be studied in the present research will have higher assimilation ratings than those living outside of these boundaries.

¹In another study of public housing projects, Deutsch and Collins¹ investigated in great detail the relation between interracial propinquity, the incidence of contact between the races and attitudes. Four low-rental public housing projects were studied, in each of which Negroes constituted not less than 40 percent of the total project population. Two of the projects had integrated occupancy patterns with a majority of white tenants living next door to Negro families in the same apartment buildings. Two were "area-segregated," i.e., the Negro and white sections being separated from each other in one case by a busy street, in the other by a large play area for children. The authors found marked differences between the two types of projects in a number of respects. The white residents in the integrated projects reported more frequently that white tenants "would be likely to get to know" Negroes there and that they engaged in neighborly contacts with Negro tenants, such as exchanging services and friendly visiting. Moreover, the white residents in the integrated projects were more likely than those in the area-segregated projects to hold Negroes in the project in high "esteem," and less likely to hold unfavorable stereotypes of Negroes. A far greater proportion in the integrated projects reported that they had undergone favorable attitude change as a consequence of living in the project. Finally, there was evidence of some generalization of the experience; the white residents in the integrated projects were more likely than those in the area-segregated projects to be favorable in their appraisal of Negroes in general, as well as of the specific Negroes living in the project.

In the Deutsch and Collins study, there were two factors that might have operated to negatively enhance the effects of occupancy pattern, i.e., the high proportion of Negroes and the geographic location of the projects. In all four of the projects studied, the proportion of Negroes was high, ranging from 40 per cent to 70 per cent of the total project population. All of the projects studied were in the metropolitan New York area.

To compensate for these contaminating factors, another study

¹M. Deutsch and Mary E. Collins, Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of A Social Experiment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951.

was done by Wilner, Walkley and Cook¹ in which none of the projects had more than ten percent Negro population. Again, two of the projects were characterized by an integrated occupancy pattern and two by a building-segregated pattern. However, in this study one of the integrated and one of the building-segregated projects were relatively new, located in small cities, had relatively small project populations and were at a moderate income level. The other two projects were older, in large cities, had large project populations and were at a low income level. None of the projects was within the metropolitan area of New York.

Wilner, Walkley and Cook found that there was little difference between the results of their study and the former one. They found more of those living near Negro families than those living far from them to a) have intimate contacts, b) perceive the informal social climate as favorable to interracial association, c) have favorable attitudes with respect to their beliefs about the characteristics of the Negro in the project and with respect to their reactions to having white people live in the same community with Negroes, and d) have favorable attitudes toward Negroes in general, i.e., not merely toward the Negroes living in the projects. They also discovered that the differences between those who lived near and those who lived far from Negroes could not be accounted for in terms of differences in attitudes which already existed when the tenants moved in the projects. Nor could they be accounted for on the basis of differences in move-out rates. Thus, it can be seen that propinquity had a positive effect on the attitudes and behavior of interracial neighbors. In addition, it should be noted that these housing studies were done in both lower and middle socioeconomic areas. Therefore, they form part of the supporting literature for the first situational explanation, i.e., the more congruent the socioeconomic status of the new student to that of the majority of the students in the receiving school, the higher his assimilation potential.

This study of propinquity in interracial housing also sheds some light on the circular argument plaguing the equal-status hypothesis. In other words, the question is whether equal-status contacts lead to favorable attitude change or whether the contacts are initiated as a result of a favorable attitude which existed prior to the contact situation. From the results of the housing

¹Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle P. Walkley and Stuart W. Cook, Human Relations in Interracial Housing. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

studies discussed above, the former seems to be the case. Robin Williams,¹ in summarizing the Cornell studies on race relations, considers at some length the possible causal links between contact and prejudice.

Another area of research supporting this situational hypothesis is found in the literature on small groups. Studies on "status congruence" indicate that homogeneous grouping by socioeconomic status permits greater productivity and friendship formation. Homans indicates that "Status congruence is realized when all of the stimuli a man presents rank better or higher than the corresponding stimuli presented by another man--or when, of course, all of the stimuli presented by the two men are equal."²

Adams describes an investigation of status congruency that is highly relevant to the present discussion. By status congruency, he means the degree to which the various members of a group have the same rank order on a variety of dimensions related to status. In a study of bomber crews, Adams selected fifty-two, eleven-man crews. He ranked them according to the following variables: amount of flight time, age, education, length of service, military rank, importance of position in the crew, combat time, popularity and reputed ability. Even the crew was given an index of its congruency, based on an average intercorrelation of these nine variables. These indices were then compared with measures of crew performance and of interpersonal relations. He found that as congruency increases, the crews show higher friendship ratings, greater mutual trust, greater intimacy and less perception of rank differences within the crew. Crew performance, as measured by bombing scores, instructors' ratings and crew ratings, shows a curvilinear relations to congruency. In other words, the moderately congruent crews performed better than either extreme.

The distinction Adams found between social cohesion and performance can serve to clarify the focus of the present study.

¹Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1964, pp. 201-222.

²George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961, p. 248. This variable has been called by a number of names. E. Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, IX (1944), pp. 151-161; G. Lenski, "Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), pp. 405-413.

Assimilation is here being used to designate one's ability to participate in a socially cohesive group rather than one's performance in that group. Therefore, Adams' study does lend support to the situational hypothesis offered in the present research when he states:

The individual who considers himself appropriately placed with the group will be less subject to discontent or compensatory behavior which may disrupt relationships with crew mates. The crew mates in turn will regard him without feelings of threat, envy or contempt. In terms of individual and group response, the effect of group status congruency appears to be a positive and continuous facilitation of individual and group adjustment.

Thus far, it has been shown that status congruency operates in a positive manner to facilitate group adjustment and assimilation. Through small group studies, it is revealed that status congruence operates by reducing feelings of threat, envy, contempt or competition. In a similar way, the studies in housing projects show that equal status contacts facilitate the reduction of prejudice and heighten one's chances to be assimilated into inter-racial or interethnic groups. Finally, in the immigration studies, it was found that those who acquired the least distinguishable cultural or racial characteristics from that of the existing majority met the least resistance in being assimilated into that majority. Therefore, the situation hypothesis offered by this author seems to have conclusive support in the literature. James S. Coleman has called this situational hypothesis the "majority-group" theory. In leadership studies, this refers to the fact that people choose leaders who are like themselves; leaders who possess the dominant socioeconomic characteristics of the group they lead. Coleman found some support of this theory in his study of The Adolescent Society. He states:

The leading crowd tends to accentuate those very background characteristics already dominant, whether they be upper or lower class. A boy or girl in such a system, then, finds it governed by an elite whose backgrounds exemplify, in the

¹Stuart Adams, "Status Congruency As A Variable in Small Group Performance," Social Forces, XXXII (1953) p. 21.

extreme, those of the dominant population group. In particular, a working-class boy or girl will be most left out in an upper-middle-class school, least so in a school with few middle-class students.

Coleman, in fact, criticizes Hollingshead for what seem to be contradictory findings in Elmtown's Youth. Hollingshead found an "unchallenged middle-class dominance," according to Coleman, who also studied Elmtown.

Hollingshead did his research in a middle western community of some 10,000 inhabitants between June 1941 and December 1942. He studied this community to test the hypothesis: "The social behavior of adolescents is related functionally to the position their families occupy in the social structure of the community."² His investigation revealed that "The behavior of the adolescent is related significantly (i.e., X^2 test, at one per cent level) to class in every major phase of social behavior--the school, the church, the job, recreation, the clique, dating and sex."³ Hollingshead found that students from families with high status were considered by their peers to be in the elite group. Also, students with lower family prestige were rarely selected by their peers as members of the elite group. The existence of an upper-middle class dominance in student associations, according to Hollingshead, is apparent in the following discussion of his research findings:

A very strong association is found to exist between the class position of a student and his peer group reputation. No class II adolescent is rated as a grubby [in the hierarchy; conversely,] no member of class V was among the elite, and only 1 out of 6 was in the "good kid" category . . . the rating a child receives from his fellows is a function of the whole of his family's position in the community's prestige structure rather than of

¹James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, p. 109.

²August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949, p. 9.

³Ibid., p. 441.

any position he creates in the peer group for himself.¹

Thus, based on his findings, there is an alternative to the "situational explanation" regarding the relationship between socioeconomic status and behavior. Rather than finding students selected as "elites" with characteristics similar to the majority of these in the adolescent social groups, Hollingshead discovered, that regardless of the group members' characteristics, the student with higher family status was recognized as the "elite" or group leader.

This, in effect, supports the "cultural explanation" which in essence states that the parental transmission of values and beliefs or the direct transmission of behavior by parents determines the behavior of siblings. Thus, it could be hypothesized that new students with high socioeconomic statuses will assimilate more easily than students possessing lower socioeconomic status characteristics regardless of the predominant socioeconomic characteristics of the existing student body.

Hollingshead discusses at great length the effect of parental transmission of cultural phenomena which is considered to be class based. He assumes, as this explanation does, that there is a clearly distinguishable class subculture with an integrated system of values, beliefs and behavior patterns. For example, he states:

. . . the family and neighborhood subcultures not only set the stage upon which the child acts, but they also provide him with ways of acting and definitions of action. In addition, they make him realize that he will be rewarded for some kinds of behavior and punished for others. They provide him with roles, teach him how to play them and accord him different status positions as he plays such roles as child in the family, pupil in the school and little boy on the street. As he participates in successive social situations, he learns to act in certain ways, to regard himself as a valued member of the group or as an unwanted person.²

¹Ibid., p. 222.

²Ibid., p. 445.

Lloyd Warner, in the "Yankee City" research, also seems to support this explanation in his study of socioeconomic status as a determinant of one's associations and affiliations. In education, for example, he has shown that presumed class-based skills are selectively taught to children through a "control over the pupil's choices of curriculums." In the Yankee City school system, he found the following:

As the social class declines, there is a progressive drop in the percentage of pupils who take courses to prepare them for college, and there is a progressive increase in the percentage of pupils who take the commercial and the general courses. Only 12 per cent of the upper-middle class pupils took the commercial and the general courses, compared with 55 per cent of the lower-middle-class, whereas 72 per cent of the upper-lower and 74 per cent of the lower-lower classes pursued these courses.¹

Warner further states that this class selectivity is a result of upper and middle-class school administrators and teachers who at one time were taught the norm of class distinctions.

Warner also indicates that this is not necessarily an adult phenomenon. From his Yankee City research, he reports, "There were incidents in which upper-class cliques of girls had withdrawn from certain activities when lower-class cliques were present and other cases in which lower-class girls had been eliminated from many athletic and scholastic activities."² Thus, he concludes, "There is abundant evidence to show the drastic effect of class-

¹W. Lloyd Warner, "Educative Effects of Social Status," in W. Lloyd Warner, et. al., Environment and Education, (Supplementary Educational Monographs, The University of Chicago) No. 54 (March, 1942), p. 23. See also similar discussions and research in the following: W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? New York: Harper Bros., 1944; Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, Washington, American Council on Education, 1940; Allison Davis "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," American Sociological Review, XIII (1943), pp. 29-37; Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941; George S. Counts, The Selective Character of American Secondary Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922.

²Ibid., p. 26.

cliques on the intellectual ranking of students and on their inclusion in, or exclusion from, social, athletic and scholarly activities."¹

In studies of leadership, the hypothesis that high socioeconomic status permits greater access to leadership positions or assimilation is referred to as the "privileged-class" theory.² Several studies on this subject seem to verify this theory. More recent studies in this area have found that leadership is situationally determined, particularly in modern, complex cities, rather than there being one centralized "power structure." However, they still find high status as a preferred characteristic for leaders. For example, Freeman, et. al, in the study of Local Community Leadership, revealed the following characteristics to be most valued in the selection of leaders: income over \$20,000, white collar occupation, college education, northwestern European ethnic background, etc.³

Similar studies have been done of jury deliberations in which the selection of leaders or foremen is found to be significantly influenced by socioeconomic status. Strodbeck, James, and Hawkins, in discussing the selection of 49 jury foremen, reported "that some foremen were selected from all strata, but the incidence was three and a half times as great among proprietors as among laborers. In addition, . . . tabulation shows that only one-fifth as many women were made foremen as would be expected by chance."⁴

Thus, from the above studies in education, leadership, and

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953; John R. Seeley, Alexander R. Sim and Elizabeth W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights. New York: Basic Books, 1956.

³Linton C. Freeman, Warner Bloomberg, Jr., Stephen P. Koff, Morris H. Sunshine, and Thomas J. Fararo, Local Community Leadership. Syracuse: University College of Syracuse University, 1960.

⁴Fred L. Strodbeck, Rita M. James, and Charles Hawkins, "Social Status in Jury Deliberations," American Sociological Review, XXII (1957), p. 715. Also see Fred L. Strodbeck and R. D. Mann, "Sex Role Differentiation in Jury Deliberations," Sociometry, XIX (1956), pp. 3-11.

jury foremen selection, it becomes apparent that equally supportive research exists in corroboration of the "privileged-class" theory, as explained by "cultural" phenomena. However, there are several problems in using this as an explanation of the relationship between status and behavior.

First, the discovery that there exist a statistical relationship between status and being selected as leader or getting preferential treatment in school does not explain this relationship. In the studies of jury foremen selection, the authors were able to discover the criteria used by the jurors in this selection. It might well be that other such factors as personal appeal or physical appearance were the crucial factors in the selection of foremen.

Second, cultural factors might not explain this relationship, i.e., members of a particular strata act in a given manner because of values and beliefs they learned in their socialization. However, the source of the values and beliefs and similar patterns of socialization might stem from situational factors such as unemployment and scarcity of food and other resources.

Third, there is little conclusive evidence that statuses or classes in complex societies represent fully integrated cultures which is assumed in the "cultural" explanation of the relationship between socioeconomic status and behavior. Professor Kreisberg concludes from his longitudinal analysis of various types of behavior:

. . .insofar as cultural processes play an important role, the evidence indicates that the cultural processes involve the transmission of specific patterns of behavior rather than an integrated class sub-culture. It may be that in small, isolated and stable communities or societies, there are integrated class sub-cultures. In large, complex and changing societies, this does not seem to account for a great deal of the association we find between socioeconomic rank and many kinds of behavior and contributes little to account for changes in those relationships.¹

Finally, few longitudinal studies have been done which support the "cultural" explanation. Professor Kriesberg suggests

¹Louis Kriesberg, Op. Cit., p. 352.

that such studies, "covering a period of a few decades, would result in giving more weight to situational explanations than would be the case if analyses were restricted to cross-sectional studies at a given time. One reason for this is that generationally transmitted behavior patterns are likely to emerge as a response¹ to the situation in which members of a stratum find themselves." Another reason for this possible outcome, he argues, is that at least in technologically advanced societies, situational factors affecting socioeconomic related behavior probably occur more rapidly than do cultural changes affecting status-related behavior.

The importance of longitudinal studies is evident in the discrepancies Coleman found in the research done by Hollingshead as discussed above. For the former states:

In 1900, only 11 per cent of high school aged children were in school. As late as 1930, the proportion was a low 51 percent. Now it is over 90 percent. Nearly all the added students are children of working class and farm parents. Thus, in the earlier years, the proportion of working-class adolescents in school was much lower than at present, even if the population composition of the community were the same. Consequently, a school where boys and girls with non-college backgrounds have taken over, such as Elmtown . . . , may have once been dominated by a middle-class leading crowd. This may, in fact, be the explanation for the very different social structure in Elmtown's high school today from that found in the same town by Hollingshead in 1940.²

Thus, it will be the purpose of this thesis to weigh the arguments as presented by these authors. On the basis of the previous discussion, it would seem that the bulk of the evidence falls in favor of the "situational explanation." Therefore, this study will attempt to test the hypothesis that the more congruent the new student's socioeconomic status is to that of the majority of the students in the receiving school, the higher his assimilation.

¹Ibid.

²James S. Coleman, Op. Cit., p. 109.

II. Design of the Study

This research attempts to study selected factors which facilitate or hinder the assimilation of new students into existing school settings. According to the previous review of the literature in this area, socioeconomic status and race seem to be major variables affecting this process. As indicated in Chapter I, two hypotheses arise when attempts are made to explain the intervening processes mediating this relationship between socioeconomic status and race and assimilation.

This study will attempt to answer the following questions. First, what is the relation between patterns of assimilation of new students and the socioeconomic status of the school? Here, the unit of analysis will be the school. Second, what is the relation between patterns of assimilation of new students and their own socioeconomic status? The unit of analysis will be the student. Third, what is the relation between patterns of assimilation of new students of varying socioeconomic status and schools of varying socioeconomic status? More specifically, the latter question concerns, first, the distribution of student statuses compared with the statuses of the four schools; and secondly, specific status levels of students and their assimilation ratings compared with the status of the schools.

Specification of Terms

It is assumed in this study that social integration is culminated by the assimilation of new students into existing schools. Assimilation is operationally defined as the extent to which each pupil accepts and is accepted by the staff and students of each school. This means that the phenomena of acceptance had to occur on the part of both old and new students. Acceptance is further delineated by the extent to which the new students freely interact and participate in social groupings with old students or students who were in the receiving school the previous year. The academic achievement of students is beyond the scope of this study. The primary concern is with social adjustment.

The students were identified racially by participant observers using visible signs as well as the students' self identifications. The observers were assigned to one school for a full academic year, i.e., September, 1964, to June, 1965. Therefore, they had ample time to elicit statements of racial identification from the students.

Socioeconomic status rankings are based on a typology developed by Charles V. Willie and Morton O. Wagenfeld. This is an ecological typology based on the 1960 census distribution of the population in the City of Centerline and Centerline County by residential areas of varying socioeconomic status. Census tracts are the basic units of analysis, and five socioeconomic status levels are developed which are based on a composite "socioeconomic areas" index. This index is used to assist in delineating relatively homogeneous areas. The index consists of five factors: (1) the percentage of craftsmen, operatives, service workers, and laborers; (2) the median school year completed by the adult population over 25 years of age; (3) the estimated market value of owned homes; (4) the gross monthly rental for tenant-occupied dwellings; and (5) the percentage of sound dwelling units. A few census tracts were not classified because of their extreme heterogeneity and other factors.

Willie and Wagenfeld were apparently aware of the "practical problems" raised by Robinson¹ in his criticism of ecological correlations. By eliminating certain census tracts and studying more homogeneous areas, greater validity is permitted in this typology. However, it is recognized that individual information, such as parental income and educational background, might yield greater significance to the findings of this study. Unfortunately, no individual information was obtainable.

It should be remembered that the various designations used such as race, sex, age, and socioeconomic status are classifications and not independently "casual" variables. They indicate possible differences in perspectives concerning appropriate patterns of behavior which, in turn, stem from and reflect differing interests and desires in regard to interpersonal behavior. They are distinctions which point to the fact, as shown in other studies,² that different standards of acceptability are expected by

¹W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and The Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, XV (June 1950), pp. 351-357.

²Howard S. Becker, "Development of Identification With An Occupation," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955-56), pp. 289-298; Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (November 1937), pp. 404-413; Everett C. Hughes, "The Making of A Physician," Human Organization, XIV (1956), pp. 21-25.

individuals of different statuses. For example, it is not sex or even income per se that effects assimilation potential; rather, it is the differing sociocultural circumstances surrounding these factors that affect behavior which in turn determine one's degree of assimilation. This distinction is discussed more fully in Chapter I. Nevertheless, these categories are extremely useful social classifications for empirical observation. Since the majority of the studies done in this area use these designations, the synthesizing task required in this paper will be made more consistent if similar categories are used.

Methodology

Four schools were studied during the 1964-65 academic year. As the result of a decision made by the Centerline Board of Education to eliminate de facto segregation, four public schools were chosen to receive students who lived outside the normal districts of these schools. A total sample of 656 students was studied. This sample included all students entering the four schools for the first time. These students entered the schools (1) as transferees from a normal feeder school, e.g., students leaving certain elementary schools and entering a junior high school which usually receives graduates of these schools; (2) as new residents in the district; or (3) as students deliberately reassigned to eliminate racial imbalance. As a result of this attempt to change the racial distribution, the number of nonwhite students entering the four schools involved was about half of the total new student population.¹ In other words, there were 314 nonwhite students of a total sample of 656. Also, socioeconomic status representation was about evenly distributed. Fifty-two percent of the new students possessed high socioeconomic status (or S-E-S) characteristics and 48 percent, low S-E-S characteristics.

There were two elementary schools and two junior high schools involved in this study. The student bodies in the two elementary schools and one of the junior high schools were over two thirds white. However, one junior high school was over two thirds nonwhite at the time the transfer occurred. As a result, this author had the opportunity to investigate the unusual situation of white students being transferred into a predominantly nonwhite school. The number of new students in the two junior high schools, i.e., 401, was much larger than the number of new students in the ele-

¹The nonwhite category refers to a majority of Negro and a few American Indian students.

mentary schools, i.e., 241. However, the proportion of all new students who were new to a school because of reassignment by the School Board was smaller at the junior high level due to the relatively large number of new seventh graders. Reassigned students comprised only one fifth of all newcomers in the junior high schools as compared with three fifths in the elementary schools. All grade levels where there were reassigned students were studied--one through six in one of the elementary schools, one through three in the other, and seven through nine in the junior highs. Further details regarding the student body characteristics in each school and the school settings will be discussed in the following chapter. Three raters were used to evaluate each new student's assimilation: (1) participant observers; (2) teachers; and (3) the new students, who rated themselves.

The observers were in the schools approximately ten hours a week, and about an equal amount of time was spent recording their observations. They systematically observed and familiarized themselves with each new student under varying circumstances. In other words, the observers recorded the patterns of social interaction of these students, on a rotating basis in such settings as the classroom, playground, lunchroom, gymnasium, halls, and favorite after school meeting places. During the latter half of the school year, in May, 1965, the observers were asked to rate each new student on a four-point scale with reference to his degree of assimilation. The question asked of the observers was the following: "In your opinion, has each child listed been assimilated into the school, that is, has each pupil accepted and been accepted by the staff and pupils of this school, so that he acts as a part of it?" The observer could check one of four ratings: A=Well Assimilated; B=Fairly Well Assimilated; C=Moderately Assimilated; or D=Poorly Assimilated.

Teachers in the four schools were asked to rate new students on the same four-point scale near the end of the year. In the elementary schools, each new student was rated by his classroom teacher. In the junior high schools, each "homeroom" teacher was asked to rate the new students, though it was realized that this teacher did not have contact with these students for the entire school day. (In the junior high schools, the students changed teachers for each subject taught.) The "homeroom" teachers were used as the raters because they had more opportunity to observe the new students interacting on a social basis than did the subject-matter teachers. Many extracurricular class activities were organized and carried out in the homeroom. Also, each student was required to return to his homeroom two or three times each school day: in the morning before classes, at lunch, and after

classes at the end of the day.

Both the teachers and the observers were asked not to rate those students they did not know well enough to evaluate their degree of assimilation. Of the 656 new students, the teachers felt they knew 601 and the observers, 591 well enough to rate their assimilation.

Each new student was also asked a question which approximated a self-evaluation of assimilation. [Ed. Note: Since this part of the study was added after the testing program had been undertaken, as is discussed elsewhere in the report, it was necessary to select and adapt relevant items for this purpose.] In one item of the Colvin Silhouette Test, which was administered to all elementary school pupils except first graders, each child was asked to rate himself on a continuum from one to ten to indicate how much he felt other students in his class liked him. [Ed. Note: The tests administered are described in greater detail in Part Six of this report.]

The junior high school students were given an opinion test consisting of 102 items, most of which were drawn from one of several earlier studies. Only one of the questions was used to get some indication of how the new students felt toward other students. Question nineteen of the Student Opinion Test asked, "How many of the kids in your school would you say are the kinds of kids you like?" There were five possible responses to this question: (1) almost all; (2) most; (3) about half; (4) a few; and (5) almost none.

These items on the Colvin Silhouette Test and the Student Opinion Test obviously do not ask the same question. While the Colvin Test elicited a response as to how well the youngster was liked, the Student Opinion Test asked the student to indicate how well he liked others. It was assumed that believing one is thought well of by others and thinking well of others are both related to the process of assimilation. Therefore, these items were used to assess the student's degree of assimilation.

Due to the small numbers in individual cells of various assimilation tables constructed, responses were dichotomized into "Well Assimilated" and "Poorly Assimilated." For the observer and teacher ratings, the categories "Well and Fairly Well Assimilated" were merged into "Well Assimilated," and "Moderately and Poorly Assimilated" were grouped under the category "Poorly Assimilated." For the student ratings a corresponding two-point scale

was developed. The ten alternative responses on the Colvin Silhouette Test were dichotomized so that one through five represented the category "Well Assimilated" and six through ten corresponded to "Poorly Assimilated." For the junior high student self-ratings, responses one through three on the item used were considered to represent "Well Assimilated" and four and five, "Poorly Assimilated." It is recognized that information is lost when broad categories are merged and, especially in the case of the Student Opinion Test item, possibly distorted. However, the small sample did not lend itself to any alternative, particularly since the bulk of this study is concentrated on individual schools and not the combined sample in all four schools.

Finally, two types of socioeconomic status ratings were computed, one for each student and one for each school. As discussed above, this rating procedure was based on the typology developed by Willie and Wagenfeld. To obtain a socioeconomic status rating, each student's address was located on a census map, and a corresponding S-E-S composite score was obtained. The census tracts were then ranked by composite socioeconomic status scores and corresponding S-E-S ratings of I, II, III, IV, or V were obtained. To ascertain an equivalent rating for the schools, their districts were segmented into census tracts and a score was obtained for each census tract included in the school district. A socioeconomic status rating for each school was obtained by computing the mean of the scores represented in each of the four school districts.

After tables were constructed comparing socioeconomic status with assimilation ratings, it again became apparent that the sample was too small to warrant making a five-way S-E-S distinction. Therefore, socioeconomic status was dichotomized into "High" and "Low." "High" included status ranks I, II, and III, while "Low" represented IV and V. This dichotomy facilitated the use of the Chi-square Test to ascertain the statistical reliability of the relationships of socioeconomic status and race with assimilation. The "gamma" coefficient of ordinal association was used to obtain a measure of agreement between the three raters.

Since there was no seemingly adequate tests of assimilation which could be taken by first graders, they were omitted from this sample. In total, about 39 per cent of the new students did not complete one of the two forms used to determine their self-ratings of assimilation. A selective factor might be operating to the extent that most of the new students who left school before the tests were administered were in junior high school, and it seems likely that these youngsters tended to be among the least well assimilated. Further analysis of this point awaits future attention.

III. Findings of the Study

This study attempts to test the equal status hypothesis which indicates that the greater the contact between members of different ethnic or racial groups, on an equal status basis, the less the prejudice. As has been discussed above, a reduction in prejudice increases the assimilation potential of members of different racial and ethnic groups. It was also indicated that the "situational explanation" supported this hypothesis by explaining the intervening processes that mediate the assimilation process. Thus, in the context of planned school integration, it was hypothesized that the more congruent the new student's racial and socioeconomic status is to that of the majority of the students in the receiving school, the better his assimilation would be.

The degree of assimilation of each student was judged by three raters, i.e., teachers, observers and students themselves. To test the hypotheses, it seemed important to measure the extent of agreement among raters. [Ed. Note: In view of space limitations, several pages have been omitted at this point. They provide the supporting data for the inter-rater reliability conclusions that follow.]

[It was learned] that there was little agreement between the three raters. The greatest disagreement occurred between the students' self-assimilation ratings and the assimilation ratings by the teachers and the observers. The largest area of agreement was found to be between the teachers and the observers. Since there were wide disparities among the raters, the ratings will be analyzed as three separate assessments rather than as a composite set of judgments.

The following analysis will attempt to discover some of the factors that influenced these disparities among the raters. It will be conducted on three levels: (1) the relationship between patterns of new student assimilation and the predominant racial and socioeconomic status characteristics of the existing student bodies in the four schools; (2) the relationship between patterns of assimilation of new students and their socioeconomic status and race; and (3) the relationship between new students assimilation patterns and the degree of their racial and socioeconomic status congruence with the student population in the receiving schools.

The first level of analysis concerns the following question. Do new students assimilate better in schools with a majority of

the existing student body possessing certain socioeconomic and racial characteristics, regardless of the traits of these entering students? This question follows closely the one offered by Warner and his associates in their studies of class-linked behavior. It is also raised by Hollingshead in his study of "Elm-town." The latter author did find a close association between social class and student participation in social groups. However, as is documented above, recent studies have found little support for this "privileged-class" theory. Instead, the "majority-group" theory suggested by Coleman seems to have greater support in the literature. Though the "privileged-class" theory seemed to have little support, it was considered important to test its utility.

Table 6.1 presents the findings of the three raters by the individual schools and controls for the characteristics of new students. Since it was necessary to dichotomize the socioeconomic status categories, the four schools were characterized as follows: Gilbert, Tyler, and Dexter were high status schools, and Jefferson was a low status school. Jefferson school had a predominantly nonwhite enrollment and the other three schools had at least a two thirds majority of white students.

The majority of new students entering all four schools were rated "Well Assimilated" by the three raters, as shown in Table 6.1. According to the student self-assimilation ratings, the high S-E-S schools with a majority of white students had higher assimilation ratings than the low S-E-S school with a predominance of nonwhite students. This, however, is not the case according to the other two raters. The teachers rated Tyler Elementary School as having the lowest percentage of well assimilated students. The observers indicated that Dexter Junior High School had the largest number of new students who were "Poorly Assimilated." (Although there seemed to exist a wide difference of opinion as to rates of assimilation for each school, it is interesting to note that the average percentage of poorly assimilated students was greater for Jefferson than the other schools.)

Thus, according to the teachers and observers, the high S-E-S schools with predominantly white enrollments did not have the largest number of students who were well assimilated. This seems to contradict the findings of Warner and Hollingshead, who indicated that socioeconomic status was a significant determinant of behavior. However, it is recognized that these findings represent broad comparisons which might distort individual differences, although there was a consistent .001 probability that the results were significant. Individual student and school differ-

Table 6.1--New Student Assimilation Ratings
By Individual Schools, 1964-65.

Assimilation Ratings									
School	Student			Teacher			Observer		
	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total
Gilbert	79.2%	20.8	100.0 (72)*	72.1	27.9	100.0 (104)	83.8	16.2	100.0 (105)
Tyler	80.7	19.3	100.0 (57)	64.6	35.4	100.0 (96)	87.5	12.5	100.0 (96)
Dexter	91.1	8.9	100.0 (124)	84.9	15.1	100.0 (185)	51.1	48.9	100.0 (176)
Jefferson	64.2	35.8	100.0 (95)	74.7	25.3	100.0 (146)	73.1	26.9	100.0 (145)
χ^2	24.0912			18.8641			57.5737		
df	3			3			3		
P	P<.001			P<.001			P<.001		

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

ences will be explored later in this section.

The next level of analysis concerns the relationship between patterns of assimilation of new students and their socioeconomic and racial characteristics. In other words, do new students with certain socioeconomic and racial characteristics assimilate better than those not possessing such characteristics, regardless of the predominant traits of the existing student body? Again, the question may be asked, "Are certain racial and socioeconomic factors independently effective predictors of the new student's assimilation pattern in an existing school?" This question concerns the characteristics of the entering student rather than those of the receiving school.

When socioeconomic status was compared with new students' patterns of assimilation, high S-E-S was found to be significantly related to "Well Assimilated" according to the students and the teachers as shown in Table 6.2. More than four fifths of these students were well assimilated, while only two thirds of the low S-E-S students were in this category. The observer ratings indicated only a 6.8 percentage difference between the high and low S-E-S students who were well assimilated. In other words, the observers found no significant relationship between socioeconomic status of new students and their assimilation patterns.

This picture was somewhat changed when assimilation patterns were analyzed in terms of race as shown in Table 6.3. Again students and teachers agreed, indicating that white students were better assimilated than were nonwhite students. The teachers maintained their 18 percent difference relative to white and nonwhite students as they did with high and low S-E-S students. Although the students indicated agreement with this judgment, the differences were not as great for race as they were for socioeconomic status, nor were they as significant. Thus, it would seem that according to the students, race was less significant a determinant of assimilation than socioeconomic status. The observers presented completely different assimilation patterns for the new students when race was considered. They rated more nonwhite students than white students as "Well Assimilated." However, the difference between the two groups was only 4.6 per cent and the Chi-square test was not found to be significant at the .05 level of probability. The "privileged-class" theory, however, seems to find some degree of support in Tables 6.2 and 6.3.

Many of the supporters of the "privileged-class" theory stop at this level of analysis. It would seem, however, that the cat-

Table 6.2--New Student Assimilation Ratings By
Their Socioeconomic Status, 1964-65.

Assimilation Ratings									
Socio- economic Status	Student			Teacher			Observer		
	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total
High	88.8%	11.2	100.0 (188)*	84.3	15.7	100.0 (286)	73.7	26.3	100.0 (274)
Low	68.8	31.2	100.0 (160)	66.1	33.9	100.0 (245)	66.9	33.1	100.0 (248)
χ^2	21.5718			23.6592			2.8601		
df	1			1			1		
P	P < .001			P < .001			P > .05		

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

Table 6.3--New Student Assimilation Ratings
By Race in All Schools, 1964-65.

Assimilation Ratings									
Race	Student			Teacher			Observer		
	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total	Well	Poorly	Total
White	85.3%	14.7	100.0 (177)*	85.8	14.2	100.0 (316)	68.0	32.0	100.0 (306)
Nonwhite	73.3	26.7	100.0 (172)	67.0	33.0	100.0 (285)	72.6	27.4	100.0 (285)
χ^2	7.7185			29.6384			1.5428		
df	1			1			1		
P	P < .01			P < .001			P > .05		

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

egories used thus far are still too broad to reveal conclusive and convincing evidence in the direction noted in the previous paragraph. Thus, the following discussion will turn to a third level of analysis and explore the relationship between new students' assimilation patterns and the extent of their racial and socioeconomic congruence with the student population in the receiving schools. It is only at this level of analysis that the "majority-group" theory can be tested as an alternative to the "privileged-class" theory. Following the rubrics of the "situational explanation," it is hypothesized that the more congruent the new student's racial and socioeconomic status is to that of the majority of the students in the receiving school, the better his assimilation.

At this third level of analysis, the numbers of cases in some of the cells were found to be small. The Chi-square test is not considered stable when computed from tables in which any expected frequency is less than five. Moreover, when the tables are two-by-two at one degree of freedom, Chi-square is subject to considerable error unless a correction for continuity is made. The so-called "Yates' correction" was used to compensate in those cases where there were small experimental frequencies.¹

In Table 6.4, high S-E-S students rated themselves as better assimilated than did low S-E-S students, with the exception of students at Gilbert Elementary School. However, the differences between self-ratings by high and low S-E-S students were not significant except at Dexter Junior High, where the differences were significant beyond a probability of .001. Furthermore, low S-E-S students in Jefferson Junior High had a lower "Well-Assimilated" percentage than the high S-E-S students, although the experimental frequencies in this case were too small to permit confident interpretation.

In Table 6.5, showing ratings by teachers, the frequencies for Jefferson Junior High are slightly larger. The teachers indicated that there was a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and new student assimilation. They rated the low S-E-S students at Jefferson 44.1 percent higher than the high S-E-S students in the "Well Assimilated" category. Teacher ratings in the other three schools, on the other hand, indicated the converse. They rated the high S-E-S students in these three schools as significantly better assimilated than the low S-E-S students. Since

¹Henry E. Garrett, Statistics in Psychology and Education. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958, pp. 258-262.

Table 6.4.--Student Self-Assimilation Ratings by Socio-economic Status in Four Schools, 1964-65.

Socio-economic Status	Gilbert Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	76.9%	23.1	100.0 (52)*
Low	85.0	15.0	100.0 (20)
$\chi^2 = .2050, P > .05, df=1$			
Socio-economic Status	Tyler Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	86.4	13.6	100.0 (22)
Low	77.1	22.9	100.0 (35)
$\chi^2 = .2337, P > .05, df = 1$			
Socio-economic Status	Dexter Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	94.5	5.5	100.0 (109)
Low	66.7	33.3	100.0 (15)
$\chi^2 = 13.0790, P < .001, df = 1$			
Socio-economic Status	Jefferson Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	100.0	--	100.0 (5)
Low	62.2	37.8	100.0 (90)
$\chi^2 = 1.5487, P > .05, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

Table 6.5.--Teacher Assimilation Ratings By Socioeconomic Status of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65.

Socio-economic Status	Gilbert Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	80.8%	19.2	100.0 (73)*
Low	51.6	48.4	100.0 (31)
$\chi^2 = 9.3779, P < .005, df = 1$			
	Tyler Elementary School		
High	83.3	16.7	100.0 (48)
Low	45.8	54.2	100.0 (48)
$\chi^2 = 14.7552, P < .001, df = 1$			
	Dexter Junior High School		
High	89.1	10.9	100.0 (156)
Low	62.1	37.9	100.0 (29)
$\chi^2 = 13.8455, P < .001, df = 1$			
	Jefferson Junior High School		
High	33.3	66.7	100.0 (9)
Low	77.4	22.6	100.0 (137)
$\chi^2 = 6.3757, P < .025, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

these three schools have a majority of high S-E-S students, the congruence hypothesis seems supported by the teachers when socioeconomic status is considered. It should be noted also that the teacher ratings in general reflect a greater emphasis on socioeconomic status as a determinant of assimilation than do the student ratings. The teacher ratings in both elementary schools (Table 6.5) indicate that about half of the low S-E-S students were well assimilated and half were poorly assimilated. In contrast, approximately four fifths of the high S-E-S students were rated as well assimilated and less than one fifth as poorly assimilated. Student self-ratings (Table 6.4) tended to be more positive in general, and much more so for low S-E-S pupils in the two (high S-E-S) elementary schools.

The emphasis teachers placed on socioeconomic status was not corroborated by the participant observers, either, as is shown in Table 6.6. In the low S-E-S school, Jefferson Junior High, socioeconomic status seemed to be independent of assimilation. Also, according to the observers, there was no significant association between these two variables in Gilbert and Tyler. Dexter Junior High offered the only setting in which there was total agreement by all groups of raters, including the observers. Each group considered a significantly larger proportion of high S-E-S students than low S-E-S students to be well assimilated at Dexter. Thus, the congruence hypothesis is consistently supported only by the teachers and, at Dexter Junior High, by all three groups of raters.

The final area of analysis will focus on race in the context of the congruence hypothesis. In other words, the task will be to analyze the extent to which race is a significant determinant of new student assimilation in each of the four schools. This task will also involve a detailed investigation of the relationship between racial congruence and new students' patterns of assimilation.

It will be recalled that race was found to be a significant determinant of assimilation according to the students and teachers. These findings, presented in Table 6.3, seemed to corroborate the "privileged-class" theory. The following discussion will carry this analysis one step further and compare the new students' assimilation patterns with the racial characteristics of the predominant student enrollment in each of the four schools. As in the analysis of socioeconomic status, the discussion will center around each of the three groups of raters.

Including the individual school in the analysis of racial congruence seems to make a profound difference in the results of the student ratings, as is shown in Table 6.7. Table 6.7 does not re-

Table 6.6.--Observer Assimilation Ratings by Socioeconomic Status of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65.

Socio-economic Status	Gilbert Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	85.3%	14.7	100.0 (75)*
Low	80.0	20.0	100.0 (30)
$\chi^2 = .4143, P > .05, df = 1$			
	Tyler Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	93.6	6.4	100.0 (47)
Low	81.6	18.4	100.0 (49)
$\chi^2 = 2.1950, P > .05, df = 1$			
	Dexter Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	60.4	39.6	100.0 (144)
Low	9.4	90.6	100.0 (32)
$\chi^2 = 25.4390, P < .001, df = 1$			
	Jefferson Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
High	87.5	12.5	100.0 (8)
Low	72.3	27.7	100.0 (137)
$\chi^2 = .3254, P > .05, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

Table 6.7.--Student Self Assimilation Ratings by Race
in Four School, 1964-65.

Gilbert Elementary School			
Race	Well	Poorly	Total
White	75.0%	25.0	100.0 (24)*
Nonwhite	79.6	20.4	100.0 (49)
$\chi^2 = .1772, P > .05, df = 1$			
Tyler Elementary School			
White	84.0	16.0	100.0 (25)
Nonwhite	78.1	21.9	100.0 (32)
$\chi^2 = .0413, P > .05, df = 1$			
Dexter Junior High School			
White	92.5	7.5	100.0 (106)
Nonwhite	83.3	16.7	100.0 (18)
$\chi^2 = .6503, P > .05, df = 1$			
Jefferson Junior High School			
White	63.6	36.4	100.0 (22)
Nonwhite	64.4	35.6	100.0 (73)
$\chi^2 = .0026, P > .05, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

flect the significance race had in Table 6.3 in influencing new students' patterns of assimilation. None of the four schools rated by students in Table 6.7 indicated that race was significantly related to assimilation at the .05 level. In addition, the relatively slight percentage difference between white and nonwhite students rated "Well Assimilated" reflects additional support of the null hypothesis. The greatest percentage difference of 9.2 was seen in Dexter while the lowest occurred in Jefferson with a .8 percent difference between white and nonwhite students. Tyler and Gilbert reflected a 5.9 and 4.6 percentage difference respectively. It is interesting to note that in both Jefferson and Gilbert Schools, more nonwhite students rated themselves "Well Assimilated" than white students. Of course, the apparent contradictions between Tables 6.3 and 6.7 reflect the varying numbers of subjects in each group at each school.

The teachers rated a significantly larger number of white than nonwhite students as "Well Assimilated" at Tyler, where there was a 36.9 percentage difference, and at Dexter where the difference was 25.7 percent. The reverse tendency appeared in the other two schools--more Gilbert and Jefferson nonwhite students were considered well assimilated by the teachers. However, these differences, seen in Table 6.8, were not significant at the .05 probability level.

The observer ratings, presented in Table 6.9, reflected a sharp difference from their ratings in Table 6.6, which considered the significance of socioeconomic status. Apparently race was of greater importance in determining the new student's pattern of assimilation than was socioeconomic status according to the observers. In Dexter and Jefferson Junior High Schools, the observer ratings generated Chi-square scores of 34.6 and 58.9 respectively, which indicated a probability of less than .001 that the relationship reported between race and assimilation was due to chance.

Race was not found to be as significant a factor in the other two schools rated by the observers. In Gilbert Elementary School, race was not significantly associated with new students' patterns of assimilation. In Tyler Elementary School, race seemed to be somewhat related to assimilation patterns ($P < .025$), although the percentage difference between white and nonwhite students who were well assimilated was only 15.4. The assimilation ratings in Gilbert School indicated a consistent independence of association with race according to all raters.

The unusual background of this school might explain the con-

Table 6.8.--Teacher Assimilation Ratings By Race of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65.

Race	Gilbert Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
White	78.8%	21.2	100.0 (33)*
Nonwhite	69.9	30.1	100.0 (73)
$\chi^2 = .8864, P > .05, df = 1$			
Race	Tyler Elementary School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
White	82.9	17.1	100.0 (70)
Nonwhite	46.0	54.0	100.0 (50)
$\chi^2 = 18.0605, P < .001, df = 1$			
Race	Dexter Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
White	91.0	9.0	100.0 (178)
Nonwhite	65.3	34.7	100.0 (49)
$\chi^2 = 26.3712, P < .001, df = 1$			
Race	Jefferson Junior High School		
	Well	Poorly	Total
White	71.4	28.6	100.0 (35)
Nonwhite	75.0	24.8	100.0 (113)
$\chi^2 = .1958, P > .05, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

Table 6.9.--Observer Assimilation Ratings By Race of New Students in Four Schools, 1964-65.

Gilbert Elementary School			
Race	Well	Poorly	Total
White	87.9%	12.1	100.0 (33)*
Nonwhite	82.4	17.6	100.0 (74)
$\chi^2 = .1612, P > .05, df = 1$			
Tyler Elementary School			
White	94.2	5.8	100.0 (69)
Nonwhite	78.8	21.2	100.0 (52)
$\chi^2 = 5.2282, P < .025, df = 1$			
Dexter Junior High School			
White	63.4	36.6	100.0 (164)
Nonwhite	16.0	84.0	100.0 (50)
$\chi^2 = 34.6567, P < .001, df = 1$			
Jefferson Junior High School			
White	25.0	75.0	100.0 (40)
Nonwhite	89.0	11.0	100.0 (149)
$\chi^2 = 58.9868, P < .001, df = 1$			

*Total number of cases from which percentages were derived.

sistent lack of association found by the raters between race and assimilation. The Board of Education used this school to educate physically handicapped children and, a year before the integration program went into effect, the physically handicapped and nonhandicapped children were assigned to regular classrooms insofar as their disabilities permitted. The principal and teachers in Gilbert had, therefore, had experience and, in some cases, special training in working with handicapped youngsters. The participant observer assigned to this school described several incidents which seem to indicate that these teachers considered many new students to be "academically handicapped" and handled them in the context of this special orientation. Since the majority of the new students were nonwhite in a predominantly white school, it seems very likely that this might have ameliorated the effects of racial differences such as appeared in the other schools.

The educational orientation of Tyler Elementary School differed considerably from that of Gilbert, although the socioeconomic status levels of neighborhoods surrounding these schools were generally similar. Tyler has a reputation for being a "high achieving" school. It prides itself in having one of the highest scholastic and I.Q. ratings of the schools in the city. Many of the pupils are sons and daughters of faculty members who teach at a nearby university. Thus, Tyler is oriented toward achievement and the intellectually gifted student. The teachers in this school considered both socioeconomic status and race to be significant factors in determining students' patterns of assimilation.

The educational orientation of Dexter Junior High School is somewhat similar to Tyler's. It is located in a middle class neighborhood and received about 30 nonwhite students who were reassigned to achieve a better racial balance. Most of the reassigned nonwhite students came from low income areas of the city. All raters, with the exception of the students in this school in regard to race, considered socioeconomic status and race to be significant diagnostics in determining assimilation patterns.

Jefferson Junior High School had an educational orientation and reputation that differed considerably from the other schools. It was considered to have one of the lowest scholastic ratings of all of the schools in the city. Most of the white students transferred to this school came from low socioeconomic status areas of the city, as did the majority of the existing student body. In this setting, and with admittedly small N's, the observers were the only raters whose assessments indicated a significant association between race and assimilation. By contrast, the teachers

in this school were the only raters indicating a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and assimilation.

The educational orientations of these schools seemed, in some cases, to be consistent with the findings reported here; in other instances, they seemed not to be consistent. The following section will attempt to analyze these relationships and assess their significance in regard to the expected results.

IV. Discussion

The assimilation of new students was analyzed on three levels: first, in terms of the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of students in the receiving school; second, in terms of these characteristics of the entering students and, finally, in terms of the congruence of these characteristics possessed by the new students and the existing student bodies at the four schools. The first level of analysis revealed that high student assimilation ratings by teachers and observers are not correlated with schools enrolling a majority of white students possessing high socioeconomic characteristics. The student self assimilation ratings did indicate that high assimilation is related to the status of the school.

The second level of analysis indicated that assimilation ratings by teachers and students were significantly related to the racial and socioeconomic status characteristics of entering students. The participant observer ratings reflected no significant relation between these new student characteristics and patterns of assimilation.

The third level of analysis tended to support the congruence hypothesis. Where significant relationships were found between assimilation and the independent variables, the new students having racial and socioeconomic status characteristics congruent with those of the students in the receiving school had higher assimilation ratings than did the noncongruent students. The majority of the time, however, the independent variables were not significantly associated with the new students' patterns of assimilation.

When the raters were ranked according to the number of times their assessments indicated a significant association between assimilation and the independent variables, the following order appeared. The student self-ratings were found to reflect the least number of such associations. Of the eight schools analyzed, (i.e., each school analyzed twice, once for race and once for socioeconomic status), only one school had student ratings which were significant for either independent variable beyond the .05 level. Dexter Junior High School had 94.5 per cent well assimilated students who lived in high S-E-S areas compared with 66.7 low S-E-S students.

The participant observers ranked second, with four schools

indicating significant associations between race, or socioeconomic status and new student assimilation patterns. Only one school's ratings pointed to a relationship between socioeconomic status and assimilation. As in the case of the students, this school was Dexter. Greater emphasis seemed to be placed on race as a determinant of assimilation. Three of the four schools rated by the observers indicated high associations between these variables. These relationships contrast sharply with the students' ratings, possibly reflecting a difference between what the students considered the ideal and the real situation. The participant observers viewed the day to day interaction between the new and old students as "outsiders" and, therefore, a difference might be expected between them and students, who were actually involved. Also, different instruments were used by the two groups. Finally, the schools indicating the highest association between the variables were the junior high schools. The fact that students were older and possibly more conscious of race than elementary school children might explain the significance race had in influencing their assimilation patterns.

The raters with the highest number of schools indicating an association between the independent variables and assimilation were the teachers. Of the eight comparisons made, six were found to be significant indicators. Four of these occurred in the analysis of socioeconomic status. In other words, the teachers considered socioeconomic status as an important determinant of assimilation in all four schools. They also considered two of these schools, i.e., Dexter and Tyler, to have assimilation patterns closely allied with race.

On the basis of the above ranking, the teachers and students seem to be at opposite poles in terms of the importance attributed to race and socioeconomic status. In all cases except one, the new students did not consider these variables to be crucial in either helping or hindering their assimilation. This finding supports the age-old assumption that children get along well with each other regardless of racial or socioeconomic status differences. In more specific terms, this study suggests that most new students, whether transferring to improve racial balance or entering a new school because their parents moved into another school district, do not consider themselves affected in their social adjustment by race or socioeconomic status.

It is recognized that these conclusions pertain only to students in elementary and junior high schools. This study is limited in its conclusions because high school students were not included in the student sample. It is also restricted because there

were no available settings that could be studied to complete the possible combinations of student-school sets. This research concentrated on high and low status nonwhite and white students entering predominantly white upper S-E-S schools and high and low status nonwhite and white students transferring into a predominantly nonwhite lower S-E-S school. Two other combinations were not available for study: high and low S-E-S nonwhite and white students entering predominantly white schools in low socioeconomic status areas, and high and low status nonwhite and white students entering predominantly nonwhite schools in high socioeconomic status areas. According to Williams and Ryan in their study, Schools in Transition, the latter two situations are rare, particularly in public school systems throughout the United States.¹ It seems, therefore, that the results of this study are representative of the major types of integrated public school settings.

Another limitation which must be considered in the analysis of student assimilation is the criteria used to define socioeconomic status. Residential areas were used to define this variable, so the heterogeneity of student populations tended to be minimized. Although such variables as profession and education were used to categorize residential areas, the grouping of these broad categories did not completely eliminate the potential error of characterizing a population as homogeneous. Furthermore, when the five socioeconomic status categories were dichotomized, greater potential error was permitted in the classification of students. Thus, it must be recognized that this variable can represent only a rough estimate of the new students' status. Although individual data concerning parental socioeconomic status were not obtainable, this type of information seems imperative for further study in this area.

While race and socioeconomic status were the primary independent variables studied here in relation to new student assimilation, there are other variables which might have some influence on the student's assimilation. One such variable which has been studied a great deal in regard to intergroup contact is personality, with specific reference to flexibility in meeting new situations. For example, Rokeach has attempted to isolate complementary psychological variables which might predict a person's behavior in unfamiliar circumstances. He suggests that a person with an "open system"

¹Robin M. Williams, Jr. and Margaret W. Ryan, Schools in Transition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954.

of beliefs would more easily accept individuals in the new environment, for example, the school. Rokeach states,

The more open one's belief system, the more should evaluating and acting on information proceed independently on its own merits, in accord with the inner structural requirements of the situation... Consequently, the more should he be able to resist pressures exerted by external sources to evaluate and to act in accord with their wishes.¹

Williams, in his analysis of the Cornell studies on intergroup contact, finds that the significance of social and psychological factors varies according to the situation.² He considers "opportunity for contact" and the interaction between racial or ethnic groups as two separate analytical processes in intergroup relations. Opportunity for contact is determined to a greater extent by social than psychological factors.

He finds interaction to be more a function of psychological variables. This distinction does not seem appropriate for the present research since the opportunity for intergroup contact is present in the integrated school context according to Williams. If intergroup interaction is considered the primary locus of behavior in this school context, then Williams' findings are supported in this study. It may be recalled that the student and observer ratings, in most cases, indicated no significant association between both race and status and the degree of new student assimilation. Williams also concludes, "Socioeconomic level did not appear to be an important determinant of interaction for individuals with the same opportunities for interaction."³ He adds that interaction within an available contact situation is more likely to be affected by the attitudes and personality of the participants than by their role and status membership. Thus, he seems to support the findings of Rokeach that psychological variables are of greater importance.

¹Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind. New York: Basic Books, 1960, p. 58; Milton Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity As A Factor in Ethnocentrism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLIII (1948), pp. 259-278.

²Robin Williams, Op. Cit., pp. 157-167.

³Ibid., p. 167.

than social factors in determining the outcome of unfamiliar intergroup contact situations. In addition to these findings, the present study also suggests that there are other factors which might have contributed to the assimilation of the students besides race and socioeconomic status. In future studies, greater emphasis should be placed on individual psychological characteristics as intervening variables mediating the assimilation process.

There is still one aspect of the assimilation ratings which seems to contradict the assessments of the students and observers. The teacher ratings, in most cases, reflect a significant relationship between the independent variables and assimilation. These ratings indicate that social factors are of greater importance in determining social adjustment than either Williams or Rokeach suggest. In fact, the teacher assessments exemplify the results of Williams' analysis concerning the effect of social factors on one's opportunity for intergroup contact. He states, "If we look simultaneously at the relationship of contact opportunities to ethnic prejudice and to status-role factors, we find that the greater differences are associated with social factors."¹ Two questions arise when confronted with this apparent contradiction. Either teachers consider the integrated school to present problems for the new student in terms of his opportunity for contact with other groups or they totally disagree with Williams' general conclusion that "the individual has a greater choice about whether or not to form friendships within a situation² than whether or not to enter the situation in the first place."² Further research is needed to answer these questions more fully.

Allison Davis has attempted to explain some reasons why teachers might consider race and socioeconomic status to be important determinants of student assimilation. In accounting for differences found in the performance and achievement between "middle- and lower-class" children, he discovered that there existed a "middle-class bias" pervading the educational system throughout the country. He explains:

More than 95 per cent of the teachers in the communities in New England, the deep South, and the

¹Ibid., p. 157.

²Ibid., p. 163.

Midwest which I have (studied) are middle class. Like any particular culture, that of the middle class emphasizes a rather narrow range of mental abilities and problems. The culture of the school, therefore, selects only mental problems which are highly valued in middle-class life, and which appear to provide adaptive training for those who wish to learn the skills and values of the adult (middle-class) culture.¹

Davis indicates that teachers have learned to regard certain mental interests and skills, certain moral values, as the "best," or "most cultured," or "most intelligent." From an analysis of popular tests used in public schools, he discovered "that a large proportion of the items in each of these tests 'discriminated between' children from the highest and lowest socioeconomic levels. In several tests, the proportion of such items was overwhelming; for instance, in the very popular Otis Beta test, seventy-three of the eighty items on the test showed statistically highly significant differences between the performances of children from the two social levels."² It seems very likely, therefore, when it comes to judging students' performance, behavior, or degree of assimilation, that teachers would consider socioeconomic level as a subjectively relevant factor in making these assessments. This research, conducted by Davis, corroborates the emphasis placed on socioeconomic status by teachers in the present study. However, why race seems also to be of concern to the teachers is not directly established by this evidence.

Becker conducted a study of teachers in Chicago which might shed some light on this subject. He found that teachers consider their interactions with pupils to present the most difficult problems. Furthermore, he discovered, "Teachers feel that the form and degree of the latter problem vary considerably with the social class background of the students."³ The interviews conducted by Becker typically distinguished three class groups:

¹Allison Davis, Social-Class Influences Upon Learning. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 88.

²Ibid., p. 41

³Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, LVII, (March, 1952), p. 471.

1) a bottom stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-lower and parts of the upper-lower class, and including for the teachers, all Negroes; 2) an upper stratum, probably equivalent to the upper-middle class; and 3) a middle stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-middle and parts of the upper-lower class.¹

His finding that teachers consider all Negroes to be part of the bottom stratum is of particular importance for this present study. According to Becker, "The teacher feels that the lowest group, 'slum' children, is difficult to teach, uncontrollable and violent in the sphere of discipline, and morally unacceptable on all scores from physical cleanliness to the spheres of sex and 'ambition to get ahead.'"² It would seem, therefore, that race and socioeconomic status are considered synonymous phenomena by the teachers, particularly in regard to students with low status backgrounds.

In the present study, however, only two schools analyzed by race indicated a significant association in relation to assimilation, whereas all four schools analyzed by socioeconomic status reflected significant relationships with respect to assimilation. Therefore, it would seem that the one-to-one relationship found between low socioeconomic status and race in Becker's study is not supported by the teachers in this study. If Becker's findings were supported concerning this linear relationship, there should be little difference between the teacher ratings by both race and socioeconomic status, since the majority of the nonwhite students transferred came from low status areas.

It will be recalled that the studies of Davis, Warner, and Hollingshead support the "privileged-class" theory of student adjustment. It might seem contradictory to use Davis' findings to explain the teacher ratings, since these tend to support the "majority-group" theory. In fact, this is not necessarily a contradiction, because the majority of the studies described could have lent support to either theory of new student adjustment. The earlier investigations did not have the opportunity to explore whether low S-E-S or nonwhite students adjust better in schools with predominantly similar characteristics than in those serving

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 472.

noncongruent students. This is not necessarily a fault of the studies but rather a result of the situation during the forties and early fifties, when there were few schools being integrated or serving heterogeneous populations of new students. If this alternative had been explored, it seems probable that the results would have corroborated the congruence hypothesis supported in most instances in the present study.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from this study. First, race and socioeconomic status are not significantly related to the assimilation of new students when the assimilation assessments of the three raters are combined. Second, where either race or socioeconomic status is significantly associated with assimilation, the new students having characteristics congruent with those of the student majority in the receiving schools have higher assimilation ratings. The congruence hypothesis, therefore, is supported in those cases where the independent variables are found to be significantly related to assimilation. These findings also suggest that there is not a prevailing "middle class" culture which permits its members to assimilate better regardless of the school setting. Rather, situational factors operate more directly to account for racial or socioeconomic similarities or differences in behavior. Members of a certain socioeconomic or racial group are confronted with similar social, economic, and political pressures which give them common, sharable experiences. As a result of these common experiences, there is established a limited range of behavior which permits greater ease of communication between members of a particular strata. Therefore, on the group level of analysis, the "equal status" hypothesis seems to have partial support.

Finally, this study suggests that race or socioeconomic status are not of critical relevance in determining the adjustment of a youngster in the elementary and junior high school setting, although this is not unequivocally supported in all cases. Greater research is needed in this area of study to determine the teacher's role in the adjustment of new students, particularly in the integrated school context.

Part Six--The Testing Program

Background and Methodology:

An extensive testing program was planned to include the use of standardized and other instruments as well as information available from school records. Included were measures of intelligence, achievement, personality, a variety of attitudes including attitudes toward the self, behavior as rated by teachers, and social relationships. The testing was coordinated with the school system's regular testing program whenever possible to minimize duplication of effort and, thereby, to economize both on expenses and on students' time taken from schoolwork. Project staff members met frequently with representatives of the school system's Research Department during the summer of 1964 and thereafter as needed for planning purposes.

The standardized intelligence and achievement tests used were those regularly administered by the school system each fall. Attitude and personality testing was coordinated through the Research Department, which required that instruments to be used be submitted for approval in advance. A major concern of all involved was to obtain the desired data without contributing to racial tensions or unnecessarily irritating the sensitivities of those who object to attitude and personality testing in the public schools.

A prominent child psychologist in the city had volunteered to work with the school system's Research Department to refine and administer an individual test of racial preferences using dolls and designed for children in the early grades--specifically, those in grades one through three at Tyler. The project staff was involved in the preliminary work and was assured that pretests and posttests would be administered and results made available to the project. At the same time, it was requested that no additional direct attempts be made to measure racial preference in the elementary grades, and the project research staff agreed. The instrument does not seem to have been used, however, apparently because of technical difficulties that developed and/or concern about possible parental objections. Fortunately, the sociometric measures discussed below provided at least some tentative insights in this area.

As a result of its concern about parental reaction, the school system also administered the California Test of Personality (grades three through nine) and a "Student Opinion Test" (grades seven through nine) under its own auspices. The latter was developed for junior high school students jointly by the Research Department and

the project staff.¹ It consists primarily of items from several instruments that were used in earlier, related studies to measure such variables as educational and vocational aspirations, feelings about school, feelings of being discriminated against, feelings about the self and one's intellectual ability, and feelings of alienation. In addition to the California Test of Personality and the Student Opinion Test, the school system handled the administration of the following standardized tests of intelligence and achievement, largely as part of its regular testing program: The Lorge-Thorndike Test of Intelligence (grades one through five); the California Test of Mental Maturity (grades six and nine); the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test (grade one); the Stanford Achievement Test (grades two through five); and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (grades six through nine).

A few other instruments, mostly experimental in nature, were administered directly by the project staff according to a schedule arranged in collaboration with the Research Department and the individual schools involved. At the elementary school level, these included a sociometric device and a modified version of the Colvin Silhouette Test² above grade one as well as a Teacher Check List (covering eight dimensions of children's behavior) in all elementary grades except kindergarten. The Colvin Test was also administered at the junior high school level along with the Classroom Social Distance Scale³ and several short measures of developmental stage, conceptual level, and self concepts that were included in conjunction with validation studies that were in progress

¹Most of the items came from the Hardt Attitude Scale, by Robert H. Hardt (Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1962) and from a report by Staten W. Webster and Marie N. Kroger, "Correlates and Effects of Ethnic Group Identification" (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1963, NIMH Research Grant No. 70321-01).

²The Colvin Silhouette Test, developed by Ralph W. Colvin, Director of Research, Child Welfare League of America, New York City, is a technique for measuring perceptions of self relative to classmates. It was designed for individual administration in an institution for disturbed children, but an attempt was made to adapt it for group use in the present study.

³Ruth Cunningham and Associates, Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951).

at the time. In view of the small available N's (discussed below) and the investigators' uncertainty about the validity of their adaptation of the Colvin Test, it seemed wisest to omit this instrument from the analysis. Most of the short measures just mentioned were eliminated when it became clear that the necessary background data on them would not be available in time to permit their inclusion. Due to computer delays and complications resulting from the limited N's at the junior high school level, the Student Opinion Test results could not be included in this report, but it is expected that these data will be available later.

The Classroom Social Distance Scale, a sociometric device, was rejected by many of the Jefferson students, who responded indiscriminately if at all and often refused to sign their names. Their apparent concern was about why the investigators wanted to know who their friends were, with occasionally expressed overtones of suspicion that the requested information would be made available to the police. Since having reliable data from Jefferson seemed critical and since former Jefferson students at Dexter seemed similarly concerned, sociometric testing in the junior high schools was, reluctantly, abandoned. With this major exception, cooperation was generally good throughout and the testing went smoothly.

On the elementary school sociometric measure, each child was asked to indicate up to four classmates he would prefer on each of four criteria: to take home to play with, as his best friends, to help with his schoolwork, and to be captain or leader of his team for a sport or game. On the Teacher Check List, the classroom teachers rated each pupil in their respective classes on the eight dimensions included in the SRA Personal and Social Development Program: General Personal Adjustment, Responsibility and Effort, Creativity and Initiative, Integrity, Social Adjustment, Sensitivity to Others, Group Orientation, and Adaptability to Rules and Conventions.¹ Four possible ratings were available for each variable: Very Strong, Tends toward Strength, Tends toward Weakness, and Very Weak. Behavioral definitions of each variable were provided to help the teachers make their ratings.

The tests used in the study were administered once as early in the school year as could be arranged (September and the first part of October) and again in May, to provide the opportunity for pre-post

¹John C. Flanagan, Teachers' Guide for the Personal and Social Development Program (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1956).

comparisons.¹ All pupils in the classrooms involved were tested, rather than just those in "experimental" and comparison groups, to avoid unnecessary labeling of the youngsters being studied. Except for the sociometrics, however, only the tests of youngsters specifically included in the study were scored. These included groups of new pupils and comparison groups of "oldtimers" as is described more fully below.

In general, three groups were studied routinely in each of the four schools to which new students were assigned to promote racial balance. These included the incoming members of the minority group (predominantly Negro, except at Jefferson), a comparison group of students who were new to the school for other reasons (such as change in residence), and a comparison group of oldtimers. The "new resident" group was included to provide a means of controlling for the possible pressures of newness in itself as a factor separate from membership in a racial or social class minority group in the school population. The comparison groups were matched with the transfers by sex and classroom but otherwise chosen randomly. Nearly all seventh graders in the junior high schools were "new" because of normal progression from regular "feeder" elementary schools, and these youngsters were usually viewed separately, since their "newness" seemed likely to be of a different order than that of other new pupils.

The reassignment program included only grades one through three at Tyler Elementary School, so only those grades were tested. Grades one through six were tested at Gilbert Elementary, a school which seemed to offer special comparison groups. A considerable number of the redistrictees were white, providing an opportunity to compare racial with social class integration, as has been suggested in the general description of the schools elsewhere in this report. There were few new residents in the Gilbert area, but the white redistrictees may be viewed as a relevant alternate group.

Gilbert also served physically disabled youngsters from throughout the city, sometimes integrated with nondisabled classmates, and it was hoped to compare their school records, social relationships, personality patterns, and self concepts with those of "disadvantaged" white and Negro youngsters and with those of children classified as

¹Some posttests were given the following fall instead; details are provided below.

normal. It was anticipated that social psychological similarities in the adjustment patterns of physically disabled and socially disadvantaged children might be identified. There were, however, generally so few youngsters in the disabled group as to render most attempts at formal comparison meaningless.

Two other schools, Hayes Elementary and Bailey Junior High, provided additional comparison groups. The busing of youngsters from Hayes to Tyler was done only with parental consent, and a considerable number of "acceptors" who could not be accommodated at Tyler and all the "refusers" remained at Hayes. These were studied as separate groups to be compared with each other and with the children who went to Tyler. Bailey Junior High was the "open school" that received many of the former Peterson students (predominantly white) who had originally been reassigned to Jefferson. Therefore, Peterson students who went to Bailey were compared with those who went to Jefferson as scheduled. Comparison groups of other newcomers at Bailey and of oldtimers there were also studied to provide baseline data about the nature of the school itself and its impact on new students as an additional control.

Of the several substudies that comprised the overall project, the testing substudy was, perhaps, most affected by the series of modifications that progressively reduced the extent of the first year's desegregation program. When the original proposal was prepared, it was anticipated that about 200 Jefferson students and nearly that many Hayes students would be assigned to predominantly white schools in the fall of 1964. When the project was finally approved, it was recognized that the numbers available would be much smaller, a major reason why the 1964-65 school year was then envisaged as a "pilot study" year. Subsequently, as has been detailed above, the attrition continued beyond some of the most extreme predictions, with the consequence that the available numbers in the critical groups at various grade levels dwindled to a point of minimal utility.

Further attrition was due to absences on the days when particular tests were administered and to school dropouts or transfers during the year. Another problem developed when a few parents who had heard about the study complained to the school system (apparently with the encouragement of dissident teachers) and demanded that their children not be required to take extra tests for research purposes or to answer "personal" questions such as appear on the California Test of Personality. Since these parents were, in at least some cases, leaders in anti-desegregation campaigns, the school system was particularly concerned. The investigators, too, were reluctant to act in ways that might tend to aggravate the school system's problems in this area. In any case, the Research Department of the school system subsequently wrote all parents con-

cerned before the posttest describing the testing and its confidentiality, giving them the explicit option of not having their children participate, and adding that the study was ending and would involve no further testing after May of 1965. A coupon was provided on which parents could indicate that they did not wish their children to participate. Needless to say, this resulted in the loss of additional subjects, although not a great many.

Efforts were made to "rescue" subjects and scores that would normally have been discarded, to combine grades when the nature of the instrument involved made this procedure seem feasible, and to compensate in other ways for the small numbers. Only at Tyler, where 58 transfers were divided among three grade levels, were the numbers large enough to provide fairly adequate data. While the Negro transfers at Gilbert were slightly greater in number, they were scattered through seven grades (K-6) and their comparison group, the white transfers from the same school, numbered less than 30. Of the originally expected 221 white newcomers at Jefferson Junior High, only about 30 actually enrolled, and about the same number of transferred Negroes entered Dexter Junior High instead of the anticipated 75. Ironically, the desegregation plan implemented in the 1965-66 school year would have lent itself particularly well to the originally projected design, but this was not known at the time the decision about requesting funds for a second year of testing had to be made. In addition, as has just been mentioned, the Research Department had virtually foreclosed any possibility of extending the study in its letter to parents about the testing. Such unfortunate "near misses" as this undoubtedly contribute to the gray hair of researchers and funding agencies alike.

Given the situation as it existed, it seemed wisest to concentrate on qualitative analysis and hypothesis-building rather than statistical elegance and futile attempts to draw valid, broad conclusions based on such limited data. Statistical techniques were applied when the available data seemed to warrant such treatment, but they have not been emphasized. In addition, available resources did not permit the use of school records as had been planned; it seemed more important to concentrate on getting the maximum return from the investment in testing.

The results and discussion have been organized into two chapters, one each on the elementary and the junior high schools. Most of the data are presented in the tables which accompany the text covering each general category of results (e.g., elementary school intelligence). In view of the limited N's, some tables have been abbreviated or omitted; a few have been included largely to illustrate the inadequacy of available N's in particular critical groups

that could not legitimately be combined. Conclusions drawn are based on what has been learned from the testing substudy as a whole concerning procedures and techniques that may facilitate future programs and research in this area as well as on the test results themselves. Thus, it is hoped that the present pilot work may provide major elements of a model to guide future efforts.

Most of the testing was done under the direction of Jeffrey K. Messing, and Paul R. Holmes joined the staff the following year (after having served as an integration specialist in 1964-65) to supervise the analysis. He was assisted late in the year by Lloyd M. Sundblad, who continued to work with the data until the report was completed. This part of the report was written by Jerome Beker, overall supervisor of the total project, with the assistance of Lloyd M. Sundblad.

Chapter Seven--Test Results in the Elementary Schools

I. Intelligence (Tables 7.1-7.2):

There were no consistent differences in intelligence test scores among the three predominantly Negro groups involved in the Hayes-Tyler transfer: the children who were bused to Tyler, those who were on the waiting list, and those whose parents had refused. Apparent pre-post changes at one grade level tended not to be supported by findings at the others. Generally, the intelligence test scores of all three groups hovered around the low nineties on both testings. Scores of the two predominantly white, middle class groups at Tyler--the matched controls and the new area residents--ranged about 20 I.Q. points higher, also with little consistent variation or pre-post change.

The Negro redistrictees at Gilbert, representing grades one through six, scored in virtually the same intelligence range as the Negro groups at Hayes and Tyler, about 90-95, with one exception. In the second grade, the nine subjects involved averaged 102 on the pretest and 112 on the posttest. It seems worth noting that these I.Q. scores increased slightly from pre to post at each grade level at Gilbert except grade five, where there were only four subjects on the pretest and five on the posttest. Increases also outnumbered declines for the white redistrictees, but the numbers involved at each grade level were too small to permit reliable comparisons to be made. The predominantly white, middle class, Gilbert area students averaged about 110 on the pretest and gained an average of about seven points on the posttest, with all grades except first showing gains. Meaningful intelligence test scores for the physically disabled youngsters were obtained only in grades two through five; the first graders were unable to take the group tests, and the sixth graders apparently included mentally handicapped youngsters. Average pretest scores for the disabled second through fifth graders ranged from 89 to 99; posttest averages, higher at each of the four grade levels, ranged from 92 to 104. Except for the sixth grade, where the California Test of Mental Maturity was used, all I.Q. scores were based on the Lorge-Thorndike Test of Intelligence.

II. Achievement (Tables 7.3-7.8):

On the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, the first graders bused to Tyler showed a marked pre-post gain, and their scores on the posttest were virtually equivalent to those of their middle class classmates. Their contemporaries in the inner city also

Table 7.1

Intelligence Test Scores--Grades One to Three*

Group		Grade One		Grade Two		Grade Three	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	10	10	16	16	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	93.20	105.00	93.25	94.75	91.11	86.33
	SD	11.98	15.96	11.20	17.98	9.39	12.66
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	17	17	10	10
	$\bar{X}$	91.78	85.67	86.06	93.24	88.80	89.70
	SD	10.74	10.70	12.75	14.12	9.68	14.38
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	8	8	26	26	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	87.50	98.12	90.42	91.35	94.00	93.00
	SD	8.67	10.70	21.74	11.52	5.31	8.79
New Tyler Area Residents	N	15	15	20	20	14	14
	$\bar{X}$	112.93	114.87	112.05	116.10	115.00	119.21
	SD	12.34	11.73	11.40	11.81	13.94	11.53
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	23	23	46	46	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	114.96	118.70	110.74	114.22	110.73	115.73
	SD	12.90	29.47	10.47	20.55	7.89	10.62
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	6	6	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	101.33	101.33	97.75	116.00	95.33	106.00
	SD	15.38	16.49	7.85	13.11	10.12	16.70
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	16	16	9	9	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	91.69	96.94	102.33	112.56	94.37	97.25
	SD	13.12	14.11	11.06	23.48	12.28	17.06
Controls at Gilbert	N	15	15	13	13	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	108.60	107.00	104.38	122.46	111.36	122.09
	SD	10.16	11.08	14.11	16.86	7.10	8.31

*Lorge-Thorndike Test of Intelligence (deviation I.Q.).

Table 7.2

Intelligence Test Scores--Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Four to Six*

Group		Grade Four		Grade Five		Grade Six	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
White Redistrictees	N	2	2	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	103.50	105.00	111.00	106.33	95.33	97.67
	SD	4.95	7.07	22.63	17.10	3.21	6.66
Negro Redistrictees	N	13	13	4	5	11	9
	$\bar{X}$	95.23	99.77	93.75	93.60	89.64	94.11
	SD	15.42	13.79	2.75	5.81	15.40	14.97
Controls	N	16	16	8	8	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	113.44	120.25	110.50	115.75	106.83	109.50
	SD	17.22	15.59	14.34	12.61	18.56	15.07

*Lorge-Thorndike Test of Intelligence (deviation I.Q.) at grades four and five; California Test of Mental Maturity (ratio I.Q.) at grade six.

gained markedly but remained lower at the end of the year. The groups, however, were too small to permit confident generalization; pre and post scores for only two to four children in the critical group (transfers) were available depending on the subtest score involved. A similar pattern was noted at Gilbert, where the groups did manage to reach two digits (12-15) in size except in the case of the white redistrictees. Here, as at Tyler, the Negro redistrictees started the year with considerably lower scores than the oldtimers and closed most of the gap in the course of the year. The few white redistrictees started generally between the new Negroes and the oldtimers and also closed the gap, slightly exceeding the scores of the new Negroes on the posttest.

At the second grade level, pre-post comparisons on the Stanford Achievement Test showed no major overall differences between the youngsters bused to Tyler and either group of their former classmates at Hayes, although there did seem to be a slight but consistent tendency for the bused group to score lower than their counterparts at Hayes on the pretest only. Overall, the predominantly Negro groups involved were achieving at a higher level at the end of the year than at the beginning. The average gain by each of these groups on all subtests was just over six academic months, the range being three to nine, during the approximately seven to eight months between tests. Most group scores near the end of the year were at early second grade levels. By contrast, the comparison groups at predominantly middle class Tyler showed between five and fifteen month increments on the second grade subtests, with the new residents matching the average overall increment--about nine months. Excluding the bused group, the Tyler second graders were achieving between the late second grade and the early to middle fourth grade levels on the various subtests at the end of the year.

Among the third graders, the Stanford Achievement Test showed a slight but generally consistent tendency for greater progress to be made during the year by the children bused to Tyler than by their counterparts who remained at Hayes in the inner city. The range of growth was from zero to ten months, with most groups showing between five and nine months progress on most subtests. The bused children averaged more than 7.5 months gain, while the average gain for those who were not bused was less than six. Most subtest scores were at the late second or early third grade levels for these groups on the posttest, with an apparent slight overall advantage for the bused group. No consistent differences appeared between youngsters at Hayes who had not been transferred to Tyler despite parental permission and those whose parents had refused, so these two groups can be viewed as one for the purposes of the current analysis. Again, the comparison groups at Tyler made more progress than the bused

children, an average of between ten and eleven months, with the new area residents showing about the same gains as the oldtimers. Average achievement levels for these two groups at the end of the third grade ranged from early fourth to late fifth grade levels depending on group and subtest.

Thus, the "regular pupils" at Tyler started with higher scores, gained more, and finished with markedly higher scores than the predominantly Negro children living in the inner city on almost every SAT subtest. Apparent exceptions were spelling at grades two and three and science and social studies concepts at grade three. The bused youngsters seemed to make at least as much progress as their classmates on these subtests, although they started and finished the year with lower scores. The deficits shown by the bused pupils appear to have been greatest in arithmetic and word study skills at both grade levels, in vocabulary in grade two, and in word meaning, science and social studies, and language in grade three. No significant differences were found after the first year between inner city youngsters who were bused and those who were not, although there did seem to be a slight tendency for bused third graders to make more academic progress than did their inner city counterparts who were not bused.

In grades two and three at Gilbert, both white and nonwhite transfer groups were particularly small. It hardly seems fruitful to discuss the white groups, since they included only three youngsters each. There were nine transferred Negro second graders and eight transferred third graders for whom pre and post achievement test scores were available, so it seemed worth comparing these groups with the Gilbert oldtimers and with the Negro children who were bused to Hayes.

At the beginning of the second grade, the Negro transfer group showed deficits ranging from four to eight months when compared with the Gilbert oldtimers on the various SAT subtests. The average gain during the year was seven months for the Negro newcomers and eight for the children who had been at Gilbert before. Posttest differences ranged from four to five months except on word study skills, where the discrepancy was well over a year. At the end of the second grade, the new Negroes at Gilbert were functioning between the early second and early third grade levels on the several subtests, while their veteran Gilbert classmates ranged between the late second and late third grade levels. The new Negroes at Gilbert, who had come from a nonsegregated setting, had higher scores than the Negroes bused from Hayes to Tyler on both the pretest and the posttest. (It was indicated earlier that their intelligence test scores in the second grade were higher as well.) In general, the oldtimers

at Tyler had higher pre and post achievement scores than did their second grade counterparts at Gilbert.

The third grade Negro transfer pupils at Gilbert showed average gains of between six months and a year on the various SAT subtests, while their classmates, Gilbert oldtimers, showed an average gain of a year or more on each subtest. Thus, while the Negro newcomers started the year with an achievement level around the middle second grade standard and the oldtimers varied on the subtests from late second grade to early fourth, the differences were even more pronounced on the posttest. The Negro newcomers scored at early to middle third grade levels near the end of the third grade, while their established Gilbert classmates' scores ranged from early fourth to early fifth grade levels. The third grade scores also reflected an advantage for the Negro transfers to Gilbert over those to Tyler, both pre and post, and the former group gained an average of ten months in achievement scores compared to 7.5 for the latter. Among the oldtimers, however, the differences by school were less marked and favored Gilbert almost as often as they favored Tyler.

In grades four, five, and six, there were no scores from Tyler, since the busing program included only first through third graders. The familiar pattern continued in grades four and five, with the new Negroes at Gilbert starting lower and usually gaining less and finishing the year further behind the Gilbert oldtimers. At the sixth grade level, where the SAT was replaced by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in accordance with the school system's regular testing program, the picture was a bit different. While the new Negroes started lower and finished lower than the established Gilbert population, both groups made about the same amount of progress--just under a year on the composite score--from pre to post. The subtests tended to follow a similar pattern with the overall advantage in progress during the year leaning toward the Negro newcomers.

The physically disabled children kept up with the Gilbert regulars in most areas in the early grades but seemed to slip progressively further behind later, when their performance began to approximate more closely that of the redistricted Negroes. It should be recalled, however, that they came from throughout the city rather than the largely middle class Gilbert neighborhood and that their intelligence test scores averaged closer to those of the redistricted Negroes than to those of the predominant number of Gilbert pupils.

Table 7.3

Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, Total Raw Scores--Grade One

Group		Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	10	10
	$\bar{X}$	76.80	92.50
	SD	13.15	4.65
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	70.00	86.56
	SD	11.03	7.26
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	46.50	97.50
	SD	12.02	.71
New Tyler Area Residents	N	4	4
	$\bar{X}$	89.50	99.00
	SD	3.00	0.00
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	6	6
	$\bar{X}$	89.17	98.00
	SD	11.87	2.05
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	4	6
	$\bar{X}$	67.75	92.67
	SD	25.75	5.32
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	12	15
	$\bar{X}$	61.25	88.53
	SD	9.22	6.47
Controls at Gilbert	N	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	76.42	93.58
	SD	12.52	3.37

Table 7.4

Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Two

Group		Word Meaning		Paragraph Meaning		Vocabulary	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	15	15	14	14	14	14
	$\bar{X}$	16.00	22.07	16.57	21.57	17.29	21.07
	SD	3.95	6.20	3.08	6.97	10.16	8.97
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	19	19	18	18	19	19
	$\bar{X}$	14.58	20.63	16.06	21.61	16.16	19.63
	SD	3.06	4.92	2.01	7.49	3.73	6.64
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	24	24	25	25	23	23
	$\bar{X}$	14.96	21.58	15.88	22.64	15.00	19.70
	SD	1.71	4.96	2.01	5.86	2.63	5.30
New Tyler Area Residents	N	20	20	20	20	18	18
	$\bar{X}$	22.05	28.35	23.95	30.45	27.61	42.44
	SD	5.66	5.79	8.41	7.88	6.90	11.56
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	44	44	45	45	41	41
	$\bar{X}$	25.09	30.75	26.02	33.69	31.85	43.76
	SD	6.99	4.30	8.45	5.82	11.01	10.87
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	15.66	21.33	16.00	22.67	31.33	30.67
	SD	1.70	1.70	1.00	4.93	10.97	5.51
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	16.77	23.55	17.44	23.33	23.56	32.00
	SD	1.87	4.30	2.01	4.39	8.03	12.09
Controls at Gilbert	N	12	12	13	13	13	13
	$\bar{X}$	20.67	27.83	21.00	28.85	29.15	37.46
	SD	4.21	5.81	6.28	6.07	9.04	10.71

(continued)

Table 7.4 (continued)

Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Two

Group		Spelling		Word Study Skills		Arithmetic	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	14	14	14	14	15	15
	$\bar{X}$	19.29	24.43	17.36	25.64	16.80	25.80
	SD	7.14	4.72	5.62	9.85	3.93	9.08
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	19	19	18	18	19	19
	$\bar{X}$	16.84	23.89	15.78	19.56	16.63	21.84
	SD	4.88	5.09	2.62	6.74	4.51	6.52
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	25	25	25	25	24	24
	$\bar{X}$	14.64	23.20	14.64	20.32	15.63	20.29
	SD	2.14	5.55	1.80	5.90	4.41	4.45
New Tyler Area Residents	N	18	18	20	20	20	20
	$\bar{X}$	19.56	28.11	28.00	39.30	23.45	30.10
	SD	5.55	5.68	12.71	15.91	5.34	5.39
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	43	43	45	45	44	44
	$\bar{X}$	24.33	30.47	30.56	44.20	24.61	34.00
	SD	5.53	3.95	12.75	13.60	5.86	9.13
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	17.33	22.33	18.33	25.00	22.33	24.67
	SD	1.29	5.92	2.08	12.12	5.77	5.13
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	16.33	23.77	18.44	23.11	20.89	27.56
	SD	2.62	4.88	3.24	7.13	4.83	6.86
Controls at Gilbert	N	12	12	13	13	13	13
	$\bar{X}$	22.50	27.50	26.62	38.92	24.38	32.69
	SD	4.70	4.91	11.89	11.61	5.64	7.00

Table 7.5

Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Three

Group		Word Meaning		Paragraph Meaning		Science and Social Studies Concepts	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	8	8	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	22.50	25.12	20.22	25.22	19.44	20.56
	SD	5.10	6.31	6.65	9.19	4.72	5.81
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	20.78	25.22	19.67	25.78	20.78	26.00
	SD	4.38	5.61	4.33	6.78	9.04	9.25
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	12	12	12	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	21.17	27.67	24.25	32.67	18.27	28.27
	SD	4.84	6.31	7.89	9.49	3.64	6.74
New Tyler Area Residents	N	16	16	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	41.12	55.50	31.56	45.12	43.81	53.75
	SD	15.21	13.31	8.37	7.68	14.15	12.15
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	28	28	28	28	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	37.25	50.32	31.00	42.11	44.11	52.44
	SD	9.50	12.79	4.84	8.06	9.43	8.49
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	35.00	32.67	24.33	27.67	25.33	26.66
	SD	5.29	4.93	4.04	11.59	5.44	8.73
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	8	8	8	8	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	23.12	33.37	24.78	32.00	24.37	31.25
	SD	5.72	4.34	5.41	8.77	5.65	11.17
Controls at Gilbert	N	11	11	11	11	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	36.36	49.00	35.73	45.91	43.89	54.33
	SD	11.69	14.95	10.33	13.31	9.78	8.25

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Three

Group		Spelling		Word Study Skills		Language	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	7	7	8	8	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	21.43	29.57	17.75	28.00	22.89	28.56
	SD	6.80	8.79	4.33	10.89	4.94	4.30
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	19.00	27.44	19.56	24.78	26.67	27.44
	SD	6.06	9.10	3.88	5.89	5.70	9.75
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	9	9	11	11	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	21.44	30.56	19.00	28.27	23.67	27.75
	SD	4.00	7.26	4.02	9.13	5.16	6.63
New Tyler Area Residents	N	16	16	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	40.31	49.31	49.06	58.31	44.94	58.62
	SD	11.74	10.87	21.70	19.26	9.45	15.14
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	25	25	27	27	28	28
	$\bar{X}$	35.80	45.36	42.04	56.56	42.11	52.71
	SD	9.50	9.09	11.62	4.61	13.40	11.82
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	21.00	31.66	24.00	40.67	24.00	33.67
	SD	1.41	4.23	8.89	17.90	1.73	2.89
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	8	8	8	8	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	26.75	34.00	28.00	34.87	26.50	35.87
	SD	12.02	12.09	15.82	16.63	6.07	8.48
Controls at Gilbert	N	9	9	11	11	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	31.00	41.11	40.27	51.73	37.91	48.55
	SD	8.25	8.24	17.40	17.07	10.22	10.00

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Stanford Achievement Test--Grade Three

Group		Arithmetic Computation		Arithmetic Concepts	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	21.11	29.67	19.00	28.78
	SD	7.34	8.66	8.41	9.54
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	20.44	29.22	20.78	25.00
	SD	5.94	4.99	5.02	5.85
Transferred from Hayes to Tyler	N	12	12	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	24.25	32.67	20.58	28.24
	SD	7.89	9.49	6.79	11.08
New Tyler Area Residents	N	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	31.56	45.12	42.94	56.75
	SD	8.37	7.68	12.90	13.99
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	28	28	28	28
	$\bar{X}$	30.29	42.00	39.46	53.04
	SD	4.90	8.03	9.35	11.39
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	28.33	39.67	26.67	34.67
	SD	2.31	6.66	4.93	7.64
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	8	8	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	28.00	36.75	25.87	34.62
	SD	5.53	7.85	7.18	14.30
Controls at Gilbert	N	11	11	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	27.18	40.55	32.09	43.91
	SD	5.78	6.74	9.95	10.44

Table 7.6

Stanford Achievement Test--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Four

Subtest		White		Negro		Controls	
		Redistrictees		Redistrictees		at Gilbert	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Word Meaning	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	35.50	48.50	38.85	41.62	52.50	64.19
	SD	.71	3.54	9.26	12.95	15.52	13.42
Paragraph Meaning	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	37.50	48.00	36.15	45.23	49.81	66.37
	SD	7.78	5.66	13.30	15.54	17.03	17.01
Word Study Skills	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	41.00	49.50	29.85	42.08	40.19	57.75
	SD	15.56	19.09	13.78	16.80	14.73	16.63
Language	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	37.50	43.50	35.23	44.54	44.81	65.81
	SD	.71	10.61	14.10	15.43	15.85	14.25
Arithmetic Computation	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	43.00	58.00	34.46	51.77	36.00	57.94
	SD	7.07	26.87	4.01	8.93	3.93	10.73
Arithmetic Concepts	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	43.00	62.50	37.46	47.46	49.19	51.87
	SD	22.63	7.78	14.53	16.41	12.13	12.41
Arithmetic Application	N	2	2	13	13	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	41.50	70.00	36.23	45.31	45.06	61.06
	SD	10.61	25.46	7.24	9.86	10.55	13.46

Table 7.7

Stanford Achievement Test--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Five

Subtest		White Redistrictees		Negro Redistrictees		Controls at Gilbert	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Word Meaning	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	49.00	59.00	39.75	47.60	65.87	74.62
	SD	18.19	16.64	5.12	9.61	11.86	16.77
Paragraph Meaning	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	43.67	57.00	33.50	43.40	53.75	71.50
	SD	33.23	21.79	4.43	5.77	21.33	17.98
Word Study Skills	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	38.00	53.67	32.25	36.00	48.75	59.25
	SD	21.70	6.03	8.77	11.34	16.66	16.63
Language	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	50.33	49.67	32.25	37.40	54.87	65.87
	SD	34.53	25.48	3.59	7.16	19.13	20.18
Arithmetic Computation	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	39.67	52.33	41.75	55.60	52.75	62.00
	SD	21.83	12.70	2.06	5.50	9.50	10.27
Arithmetic Concepts	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	43.00	53.33	34.00	41.80	62.62	74.62
	SD	17.58	11.93	13.49	10.31	11.20	13.50
Arithmetic Application	N	3	3	4	5	8	8
	$\bar{X}$	45.33	55.33	37.25	45.00	54.87	66.75
	SD	12.06	2.52	6.18	5.29	13.20	15.74

Table 7.8

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills--Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Six

Test		White Redistrictees		Negro Redistrictees		Controls at Gilbert	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Vocabulary	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	40.67	54.50	50.82	65.83	68.73	78.09
	SD	7.77	2.12	10.43	11.95	14.66	17.14
Reading Comprehension	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	49.67	60.50	54.82	64.92	63.18	76.00
	SD	2.08	12.02	8.32	11.16	16.81	18.66
Total Language	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	55.00	62.50	54.82	65.42	66.64	72.91
	SD	17.00	12.02	10.03	15.85	12.65	15.61
Total Work-Study Skills	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	56.67	65.00	53.00	60.50	62.00	69.55
	SD	4.73	00.00	5.92	11.13	16.93	18.17
Total Arithmetic	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	59.33	67.00	54.09	59.08	62.45	64.36
	SD	9.02	1.41	6.77	10.54	14.39	15.31
Composite	N	3	2	11	12	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	52.33	61.50	53.64	63.00	64.55	72.18
	SD	4.73	4.95	5.41	9.98	13.80	15.59

III. Personal and Social Variables (Tables 7.9-7.19; sociometric results follow in a separate section):

In view of the small N's, the Teacher Check List data were combined for the three grade levels involved at Hayes and Tyler. The ratings were dichotomized into "strong" and "weak" categories, and groups were compared with the aid of Chi-square based on 2x2 contingency tables. It should be noted that, since each child was rated by his classroom teacher, teachers at predominantly middle class Tyler rated the bused transfers and their predominantly white classmates, while the children who remained at Hayes were rated by a different set of teachers who might well have been functioning with a different frame of reference. Therefore, only general comparisons between groups at different schools have been made on this instrument.¹

Among the Tyler pupils, the bused children received markedly lower ratings than their classmates on all eight variables² even on the pretest early in the year. The differences between the bused group and the Tyler oldtimers were significant beyond the .001 level for General Personal Adjustment, Responsibility and Effort, and Creativity and Initiative; beyond the .01 level for Integrity and Adaptability to Rules and Conventions; beyond the .05 level for Social Adjustment; and not significant for Sensitivity to Others and Group Orientation. The differences were greater for each variable on the posttest, with the level of significance exceeding .001 for all variables except Social Adjustment, where the difference was significant beyond the .01 level. The increased disparity resulted in most cases from a combination of stronger ratings given to the oldtimers and weaker ratings given to the bused group than at the beginning of the year.

When compared with new Tyler area residents, the bused group still tended to be rated as weaker; the significance levels were lower, but this may have reflected the markedly smaller comparison group involved. On the pretest, the differences were significant

¹Of course, even the same teacher may apply different standards in rating the behavior of different racial or other categories of children in a given classroom, but such ratings probably reflect the relative perceptions with which the teacher works if not the actual behavior of the children rated. When different teachers in widely disparate schools are involved, however, there is an additional uncontrolled variable.

²General Personal Adjustment, Responsibility and Effort, Creativity and Initiative, Integrity, Social Adjustment, Sensitivity to Others, Group Orientation, and Adaptability to Rules and Conventions.

beyond the .001 level for Creativity and Initiative, beyond the .01 level for Responsibility and Effort, beyond the .02 level for General Personal Adjustment, and not significant for the other five variables. Again, the differences were greater on the posttest, exceeding the .001 level of significance for General Personal Adjustment, Responsibility and Effort, and Creativity and Initiative. The .01 level was exceeded for Sensitivity, Group Orientation, and Adaptability to Rules and Conventions, the .02 level for Integrity, and the .05 level for Social Adjustment. By contrast, no significant differences were found between new area residents and oldtimers on either administration.

No extreme or consistent differences were found between the ratings of the Hayes pupils whose parents had refused the transfer option and those of the Hayes pupils whose parents had accepted and held places on the waiting list. In general, their ratings tended to be between those of their neighbors being bused to Tyler and those of the Tyler "regulars." The meaning of this finding is obscure since, as has been mentioned above, teachers who possibly had different behavioral expectations for their pupils did the rating in the two schools.

At Gilbert School, ratings were combined separately for grades one, two, and three and grades four through six. On the pretest in the lower grades, the same grades as have been reviewed at Tyler and Hayes, only the white redistrictees compared with the oldtimers showed a significant difference at as much as the .05 level, on Creativity and Initiative. The Gilbert analysis was, of course, hampered by the limited N's, and it would seem presumptuous to attempt to interpret a single finding significant at the .05 level among 24 comparisons; this reflects chance expectations almost perfectly. On the posttest, the only significant difference was between the Negro redistrictees and the oldtimers on Social Adjustment and favored the latter group at the .01 level of significance. It should be noted, however, that the overall tendency was for the ratings to favor the oldtimers over the redistrictees and that there was no consistent pattern of preference shown between white and Negro redistrictees.

On the upper elementary school level, grades four through six, the posttest ratings in particular tended to favor the controls over the Negro redistrictees. These differences were significant at least at the .05 level on all variables except Responsibility and Effort and Social Adjustment. In most cases, these differences could be attributed to lower ratings given to Negro redistrictees on the posttest than they had received on the pretest. The physically disabled children tended not to be rated markedly and consistently differently than their classmates but, again, their numbers were too small to permit

convincing conclusions be drawn.

At Hayes and Tyler, where the California Test of Personality was given only in grade three, the scores of the three predominantly Negro groups (bused, waiting list, and refusers) were somewhat inconsistent on subtests but roughly comparable on an overall basis with generally little pre-post variation. The oldtimers and the new area resident groups at Tyler both tended to have higher scores throughout, with the differences being greater for personal adjustment than for social adjustment and, again, no clear pre-post changes. Among the latter two groups, the new area residents appeared consistently to have slightly higher scores. Given the small N's involved, these data must be viewed as no more than indicative of possible tendencies to be confirmed or refuted by subsequent studies, but it is of interest to note that the bused children tended to show less of a deficit relative to the other groups at Tyler on social than on personal adjustment variables on both the Teacher Check List and the California Test of Personality. This apparently was not confirmed on the California Test of Personality at Gilbert, where the white control groups consistently had higher scores than the redistricted Negroes. The few redistricted whites tended to score between the other two groups at Gilbert. The Gilbert groups did not appear to differ systematically and appreciably from what might be termed their counterpart groups at Tyler, although the white controls did have slightly higher scores on social and total adjustment than did those at Tyler.

IV. Sociometric Choices (Tables 7.20-7.52):

The overall tendency, perhaps best illustrated in the relevant tables, was clearly for the white oldtimers to be overchosen in terms of their proportions in the Tyler and Gilbert pupil populations and for the Negro newcomers to be underchosen. The white new residents in the Tyler district were chosen about in proportion to their numbers, but the white redistrictees at Gilbert tended to be underchosen as well. Negro oldtimers at Gilbert also tended to be underchosen. These gross findings were generally reflected on both pretests and posttests, but there were a few exceptions as is indicated in the following overview of choices made by given groups of choosers. Additional comparisons, including those involving the individual sociometric criteria, can be made by the reader based on the data presented in the relevant tables.

In the second grade at Tyler, white neighborhood resident children of both sexes chose more bused Negroes of their own sex on the posttest than they had on the pretest. When these choices were compared with choices the neighborhood children made among themselves, the pre-post gains made by the bused Negro boys were significant beyond the .02 level for "best friends" and beyond the .01 level for classmates they would like to take home to play with. On the former

(to p. 353)

Table 7.9

Teacher Ratings of General Personal Adjustment--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	13	17	15	4	2.20
	Post	8	11	12	10	2.59
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	6	22	13	4	2.33
	Post	8	13	20	12	2.68
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	0	30	20	6	2.57
	Post	4	11	19	13	2.87
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	15	30	13	1	2.00
	Post	18	23	8	1	1.86
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	34	70	13	2	1.86
	Post	40	66	4	4	1.75
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	7	5	0	2.31
	Post	3	1	7	1	2.50
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	2	14	8	1	2.32
	Post	3	13	8	6	2.57
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	6	22	10	2	2.20
	Post	12	16	12	1	2.05
Physically Disabled	Pre	0	9	0	0	2.00
	Post	1	7	4	0	2.50

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.10

Teacher Ratings of Responsibility and Effort--Grades One, Two, and Three
Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	15	20	10	6	2.14
	Post	11	15	7	7	2.25
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	10	21	9	5	2.20
	Post	7	22	13	4	1.89
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	0	27	19	9	2.67
	Post	4	18	14	11	2.86
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	23	21	7	4	1.73
	Post	23	20	5	2	1.72
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	47	52	16	4	1.81
	Post	45	46	9	4	1.73
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	5	6	0	2.42
	Post	3	2	5	2	2.50
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	0	14	8	2	1.76
	Post	4	12	7	8	2.61
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	10	20	8	0	1.95
	Post	11	17	12	2	2.12
Physically Disabled	Pre	0	8	0	0	2.00
	Post	0	8	4	0	2.33

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.11

Teacher Ratings of Creativity and Initiative-Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	13	18	13	7	2.27
	Post	8	15	8	8	2.41
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	12	14	12	7	2.31
	Post	7	16	14	5	2.40
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	0	24	24	8	2.71
	Post	3	12	19	13	2.89
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	16	28	8	3	1.96
	Post	20	25	3	2	1.74
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	37	61	19	3	1.90
	Post	49	48	14	3	1.75
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	2	7	2	2.83
	Post	3	2	5	2	2.50
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	0	9	13	2	2.71
	Post	2	15	7	6	2.57
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	6	19	11	3	2.28
	Post	12	15	13	2	2.12
Physically Disabled	Pre	0	0	1	0	3.00
	Post	1	7	4	0	2.25

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.12

Teacher Ratings of Integrity--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	12	16	9	4	2.12
	Post	9	13	9	4	2.23
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	13	12	9	5	2.15
	Post	14	11	9	5	1.90
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	1	29	15	4	2.45
	Post	2	19	14	10	2.71
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	12	26	9	2	2.02
	Post	13	19	8	3	2.02
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	23	57	7	6	1.96
	Post	33	39	8	3	1.77
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	5	3	2	2.55
	Post	2	3	3	2	2.50
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	3	12	6	0	2.14
	Post	1	15	8	4	2.54
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	5	28	5	0	2.00
	Post	14	21	6	1	1.86
Physically Disabled	Pre	0	1	0	1	3.00
	Post	1	6	0	0	1.86

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.13

Teacher Ratings of Social Adjustment--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	15	21	9	2	1.96
	Post	9	18	8	4	2.18
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	15	13	9	4	2.05
	Post	12	14	11	4	2.17
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	5	30	14	5	2.35
	Post	5	24	12	3	2.30
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	17	27	5	5	1.96
	Post	18	21	4	2	1.78
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	33	59	13	7	1.95
	Post	40	38	8	3	1.71
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	6	3	0	2.20
	Post	3	3	2	2	2.30
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	1	14	6	0	2.24
	Post	3	12	8	4	2.48
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	4	27	6	1	2.11
	Post	16	21	3	1	1.73
Physically Disabled	Pre	0	2	1	1	2.75
	Post	0	6	1	2	2.56

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.14

Teacher Ratings of Sensitivity to Others--Grades One, Two, and Three
Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	9	20	14	2	2.20
	Post	5	15	14	4	2.45
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	17	16	8	2	1.88
	Post	11	11	10	4	2.19
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	7	29	13	2	2.20
	Post	8	15	14	7	2.45
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	11	27	9	3	2.08
	Post	17	20	5	3	1.87
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	21	63	17	5	2.06
	Post	32	41	5	5	1.80
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	1	5	4	1	2.45
	Post	4	3	2	2	2.18
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	3	12	7	1	2.26
	Post	6	13	7	4	2.30
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	6	21	11	0	2.13
	Post	15	21	8	1	1.89
Physically Disabled	Pre	1	3	0	2	2.50
	Post	2	5	0	0	1.71

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.15

Teacher Ratings of Group Orientation--Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	17	19	11	2	1.96
	Post	9	16	9	4	2.21
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	18	12	9	4	1.98
	Post	13	14	8	5	2.13
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	14	26	14	1	2.04
	Post	7	11	16	7	2.56
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	17	26	6	0	1.78
	Post	17	17	6	2	1.83
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	34	57	12	2	1.83
	Post	33	46	1	4	1.71
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	4	4	3	1	2.08
	Post	5	3	2	2	2.08
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	5	7	10	1	2.30
	Post	9	12	5	4	2.13
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	3	20	15	3	2.44
	Post	14	17	9	1	1.93
Physically Disabled	Pre	1	2	1	0	2.00
	Post	0	5	0	2	2.57

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.16

Teacher Ratings of Adaptability to Rules and Conventions--
Grades One, Two, and Three Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
Requested Transfer from Hayes	Pre	14	21	9	4	2.06
	Post	8	9	13	7	2.51
Refused Transfer from Hayes	Pre	16	13	10	2	1.95
	Post	14	9	12	4	2.15
Transferred to Tyler	Pre	8	27	17	2	2.24
	Post	10	14	13	7	2.39
New Tyler Area Residents	Pre	22	18	8	3	1.84
	Post	17	20	5	3	1.87
Old Tyler Area Residents	Pre	40	52	11	2	1.76
	Post	39	39	5	7	1.78
Gilbert White Redistrictees	Pre	3	4	3	2	2.33
	Post	2	4	2	1	2.22
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	Pre	4	10	8	1	2.26
	Post	5	12	7	4	2.36
Controls at Gilbert	Pre	9	16	13	0	2.11
	Post	19	14	7	2	1.81
Physically Disabled	Pre	3	2	0	1	1.83
	Post	0	5	1	1	2.43

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.17

Teacher Ratings: Gilbert School--Grades Four, Five, and Six Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
<u>General Personal Adjustment:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	2	3	2	0	2.00
	Post	0	5	1	1	2.43
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	6	11	9	4	2.37
	Post	4	5	11	4	2.63
Controls	Pre	8	19	7	2	2.34
	Post	9	15	6	5	2.20
Physically Disabled	Pre	2	11	2	3	2.33
	Post	3	7	9	1	2.25
<u>Responsibility and Effort:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	2	3	2	1	2.25
	Post	1	3	2	1	2.43
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	6	8	7	6	2.48
	Post	4	8	9	7	2.68
Controls	Pre	9	18	7	2	2.06
	Post	10	14	8	3	2.11
Physically Disabled	Pre	3	10	3	3	2.32
	Post	1	7	9	1	2.56

(continued)

Table 7.17 (continued)

Teacher Ratings: Gilbert School--Grades Four, Five, and Six Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Ratings
<u>Creativity and Initiative:</u>						
White	Pre	1	4	1	2	2.50
Redistrictees	Post	0	1	5	1	3.00
Negro	Pre	6	5	10	6	2.59
Redistrictees	Post	3	5	11	9	2.93
Controls	Pre	10	14	10	1	2.06
	Post	10	12	11	2	2.14
Physically Disabled	Pre	3	9	1	6	2.53
	Post	0	5	10	3	2.89
<u>Integrity:</u>						
White	Pre	2	5	1	0	1.88
Redistrictees	Post	0	5	1	1	2.43
Negro	Pre	3	13	10	0	2.27
Redistrictees	Post	4	7	9	8	2.75
Controls	Pre	14	18	1	3	1.81
	Post	14	15	4	2	1.83
Physically Disabled	Pre	4	12	2	0	1.89
	Post	4	11	5	1	2.14

(continued)

Table 7.17 (continued)

Teacher Ratings: Gilbert School--Grades Four, Five, and Six Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
<u>Social Adjustment:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	4	4	0	0	1.50
	Post	1	5	1	0	2.00
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	6	13	5	3	2.19
	Post	3	12	6	7	2.61
Controls	Pre	14	16	5	1	1.81
	Post	12	15	4	3	1.94
Physically Disabled	Pre	1	13	1	4	2.42
	Post	0	7	11	0	2.61
<u>Sensitivity to Others:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	1	5	1	0	2.00
	Post	1	5	1	0	2.00
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	5	14	7	0	2.08
	Post	3	9	9	7	2.50
Controls	Pre	6	24	5	0	1.97
	Post	11	14	7	3	2.06
Physically Disabled	Pre	2	15	4	0	2.10
	Post	0	10	5	0	2.33

(continued)

Table 7.17 (continued)

Teacher Ratings: Gilbert School--Grades Four, Five, and Six Combined

Group		Very Strong	Tends Toward Strength	Tends Toward Weakness	Very Weak	Average Rating
<u>Group Orientation:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	1	3	3	0	2.29
	Post	1	4	3	0	2.25
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	5	9	12	1	2.25
	Post	3	7	9	9	2.86
Controls	Pre	13	17	6	0	1.81
	Post	12	14	5	3	1.97
Physically Disabled	Pre	4	6	6	3	2.42
	Post	0	9	7	1	2.53
<u>Adaptability to Rules and Conventions:</u>						
White Redistrictees	Pre	1	5	1	0	2.00
	Post	1	8	2	0	2.09
Negro Redistrictees	Pre	3	17	6	1	2.19
	Post	3	12	8	5	2.54
Controls	Pre	10	23	2	1	1.83
	Post	16	12	3	3	1.79
Physically Disabled	Pre	4	8	1	6	2.47
	Post	1	9	8	0	2.39

Note.--The first four columns indicate the number of children in each group rated at the indicated levels of strength. The ratings were treated as scores from one (strong) to four for purposes of computing the average rating presented in the last column. The lower the average rating, therefore, the more strength shown by the group concerned.

Table 7.18

California Test of Personality--Grade Three

Group		Personal Adjustment		Social Adjustment		Total Adjustment	
		pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Requested Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	29.00	28.00	31.56	34.00	60.56	62.00
	SD	5.17	4.53	7.65	6.20	11.84	9.17
Refused Transfer from Hayes	N	9	9	9	9	9	9
	$\bar{X}$	32.78	30.44	33.56	33.67	65.22	64.11
	SD	6.85	6.78	7.26	5.81	14.13	11.25
Transferred to Tyler	N	11	11	11	11	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	29.36	30.09	34.45	36.18	63.28	66.27
	SD	3.88	5.65	4.95	5.06	8.30	10.19
New Tyler Area Residents	N	15	15	15	15	15	15
	$\bar{X}$	37.20	38.87	41.33	39.93	78.93	78.20
	SD	4.66	7.20	4.03	5.52	7.16	12.42
Old Tyler Area Residents	N	22	22	22	22	22	22
	$\bar{X}$	35.72	36.27	37.77	37.36	73.50	72.63
	SD	5.32	6.84	5.74	5.87	12.34	10.39
Gilbert White Redistrictees	N	3	3	3	3	3	3
	$\bar{X}$	35.67	31.67	40.33	37.67	76.00	69.33
	SD	3.68	4.99	.94	2.94	2.45	7.01
Gilbert Negro Redistrictees	N	7	7	7	7	7	7
	$\bar{X}$	30.57	29.14	34.43	30.14	65.00	59.29
	SD	4.54	6.60	2.06	7.28	5.83	11.00
Controls at Gilbert	N	11	11	11	11	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	37.09	35.64	40.09	41.09	77.18	76.73
	SD	5.36	5.48	3.70	5.15	8.39	9.49

Table 7.19

California Test of Personality--Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Four to Six

Group		Personal Adjustment		Social Adjustment		Total Adjustment	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Grade Four:</u>							
White	N	2	2	2	2	2	2
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	55.50	56.50	51.50	53.50	107.00	110.00
	SD	6.50	10.50	5.50	10.50	12.00	6.63
Negro	N	12	14	12	14	12	14
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	48.00	43.14	51.50	53.14	99.50	96.28
	SD	7.45	10.10	11.15	7.65	18.60	17.75
Controls	N	16	16	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	49.81	51.88	54.94	57.50	104.75	109.38
	SD	11.19	10.41	7.95	9.41	18.79	21.14
<u>Grade Five:</u>							
White	N	3	2	3	2	3	2
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	55.33	60.50	62.33	61.00	117.67	121.50
	SD	4.93	7.50	4.78	4.00	9.71	11.50
Negro	N	3	4	3	4	3	4
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	43.67	42.00	49.33	40.75	93.00	82.75
	SD	3.68	7.10	11.05	12.74	14.14	19.84
Controls	N	7	7	7	7	7	7
	$\bar{X}$	57.43	62.43	63.00	65.14	120.43	127.57
	SD	7.21	5.47	3.21	3.89	10.23	9.03
<u>Grade Six:</u>							
White	N	2	3	1	2	1	2
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	40.00	56.33	60.00	62.50	109.00	121.00
	SD	9.00	.47	-	2.50	-	2.00
Negro	N	11	11	11	11	11	11
Redistrictees	$\bar{X}$	40.90	45.45	46.00	47.45	86.40	92.90
	SD	10.04	12.69	12.39	12.19	20.15	20.47
Controls	N	12	12	12	12	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	53.75	56.75	56.67	58.67	110.42	115.42
	SD	11.18	7.59	11.48	7.63	21.64	13.59

criterion, the bused Negro girls made gains significant beyond the .01 level. Differences on the other criteria for same sex choices were not significant, but the bused Negro children made relative gains on each. White new resident second graders did not show comparable increments, but they received generally more same sex choices both pre and post than did the bused Negro children. It seems apparent that, among these second graders at least, the bused Negroes did not achieve a level of acceptance among the oldtimers equal to that of other newcomers, but they did make significant gains within a year.

Bused Negro boys were not infrequently chosen by white neighborhood girls on the posttest, although few were chosen on the pretest, but no bused Negro girls were chosen by white neighborhood boys. Bused Negro boys gained from pre to post in choices by white neighborhood girls on all four criteria. Three of these gains were significant relative to the same girls' choices of white neighborhood boys: "best friend" at the .001 level and "help with schoolwork" and "captain of the team" at the .01 level. The bused Negro boys also gained relative to the new resident white boys in the eyes of the white neighborhood girls. Despite the smaller N's involved, the gains were significant at the .05 level on the same three variables. It seems noteworthy that the bused Negro boys were chosen more frequently on the posttest by white, neighborhood girls than were white, new resident boys, who comprised a group of comparable size. These gains seem to have been primarily at the expense of the other boys.

At the third grade level, where there were fewer bused Negroes and new resident whites alike, the picture was markedly different. Few choices by the white oldtimers went to bused Negroes either pre or post, and nearly all of these were choices of boys by boys. There was no increment over the course of the year. New resident white boys were chosen more frequently by white neighborhood boys than were bused Negroes on the pretest and still more frequently on the posttest. White neighborhood girls chose new resident girls more frequently than they chose bused Negro girls, and they chose virtually no bused Negro boys as their second grade counterparts had. Thus, the white oldtimers seem to have begun to accept the bused Negroes at the second grade level but not at the third. Even in the second grade, however, as we have seen, it took longer for the bused Negroes to gain a measure of acceptance.

Bused Negro second grade boys tended to choose one another at about chance expectancies on the pretest but more frequently on the posttest. The picture was less clear for the bused Negro girls, since they tended to make more cross-sex choices, but they also made more in-group choices than did the boys. These data are somewhat obscured by the fact that the small number of bused Negroes

per classroom forced subjects to choose some whites if they made all the choices requested of them, but the trend seems apparent. Results at the third grade level must be viewed even more carefully, since there were even fewer third grade newcomers. Bused Negro third grade boys chose among one another much more than did the second graders, but the girls did so only on the pretest. Their posttest choices were almost entirely limited to whites. The white new resident second graders of both sexes tended to choose among themselves as well, even more than did the Negroes, but the white new residents apparently assimilated somewhat more freely at the third grade level.

The Negro redistrictees at Gilbert tended to make more in-group choices than would have been predicted on the basis of their percentage in the pupil population, but the boys particularly were less prone to in-group preference on the posttest than on the pretest. These results were not reflected consistently at all grade levels but do represent the overall trend. The same general pattern characterized the white redistrictees, although their numbers at individual grade levels were too small to tell us much except based on grade two through six totals. Individual tables are presented to indicate choices of the critical groups by the critical groups, except that categories with seemingly insignificant N's (e.g., Negro area pupils) have been omitted. Therefore, the percentages do not always total 100. The total N on which each column of percentages is based is presented for the convenience of readers who may wish to carry out further analyses.

V. Discussion:

Conclusions based on such limited N's must be viewed with caution, at least until they can be studied in the context of related studies of other populations. However, the data reported here offer little to support the claims of those who express the fear that disadvantaged Negro elementary school children will be "hurt" more if they are forced to compete with high achieving, middle class whites than they might be by attending more homogeneous, inner city schools. On the other hand, the results tend to confirm that there are marked differences in performance as well as social cleavages between the groups, and it seems apparent that desegregation did little to close such gaps in the course of the first year.

It seems that "newness" to the school did not, in itself, markedly hamper the achievement or adjustment of the newcomers at Tyler, since the pupils who had recently moved into the neighborhood were hardly different on most of the measures used from the "old-timers." The slight differences that did appear paled before the

(to p. 383)

Table 7.20

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School, Grade Two

Group	Pupil % (N=125)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Transferred Negro Boys	09	04	09	03	11	03	08	04	12
Transferred Negro Girls	08	03	04	03	07	02	03	02	04
All Negro transfers	17	07	13	06	18	05	12	06	16
White New Resident Boys	10	06	10	09	08	08	08	10	08
White New Resident Girls	08	09	09	08	08	08	12	07	09
All White New Residents	18	15	19	17	16	16	20	17	17
White Old Resident Boys	34	47	35	44	35	43	36	50	44
White Old Resident Girls	31	32	32	34	30	36	34	28	23
All White Old Residents	65	79	67	78	65	79	70	78	67
Number of Choices		478	357	478	363	461	344	367	320

Table 7.21

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School, Grade Three

Group	Pupil % (N=130)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Transferred Negro Boys	07	02	03	04	03	02	02	05	08
Transferred Negro Girls	05	01	00	01	01	01	01	01	01
All Negro Transfers	12	03	03	05	04	03	03	06	09
White New Resident Boys	05	05	06	05	06	04	09	04	06
White New Resident Girls	04	03	04	03	04	03	07	03	07
All White New Residents	09	08	10	08	10	07	16	07	13
White Old Resident Boys	45	50	46	47	44	46	40	55	43
White Old Resident Girls	35	39	41	40	42	43	42	32	34
All White Old Residents	80	89	87	87	86	89	82	87	77
Number of Choices		464	326	477	320	458	290	433	274

Table 7.22

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at Tyler Elementary School, Both Grades

Group	Pupil % (N=255)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Transferred Negro Boys	08	03	06	04	07	03	04	05	10
Transferred Negro Girls	06	01	02	01	04	01	02	02	03
All Negro Transfers	14	04	08	05	11	04	06	07	13
White New Resident Boys	08	06	08	07	09	06	09	07	08
White New Resident Girls	06	06	07	06	06	06	09	05	07
All White New Residents	14	12	15	13	15	12	18	12	15
White Old Resident Boys	39	48	40	45	39	44	41	53	46
White Old Resident Girls	33	35	36	37	35	40	35	30	28
All White Old Residents	72	83	76	82	74	84	76	83	74
Number of Choices		942	683	955	683	919	634	800	594

Table 7.23

Choices by Negro Transfer Pupils at Tyler Elementary School in Percentages,
Grade Two

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=125)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers from Hayes	M	09	11	17	14	22	10	16	09	14
	F	08	05	03	00	03	03	00	00	00
New Area Residents	M	10	07	09	07	05	13	03	09	04
	F	08	02	09	05	05	10	16	11	11
Other Old Residents	M	34	48	37	35	49	38	32	43	50
	F	31	27	20	37	16	23	30	26	18
Number of Choices			44	35	43	37	39	37	35	28
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers from Hayes	M	09	08	11	03	09	05	06	00	06
	F	08	03	17	12	29	16	18	14	09
New Area Residents	M	10	03	00	03	00	05	09	00	06
	F	08	13	09	15	06	14	09	14	03
Other Old Residents	M	34	42	00	30	00	24	09	32	30
	F	31	21	51	27	46	24	42	36	42
Number of Choices			38	35	33	35	37	33	22	33

Table 7.24

Choices by White New Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School
in Percentages, Grade Two

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=125)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers	M	09	06	09	06	15	08	06	02	17
from Hayes	F	08	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
New Area	M	10	14	21	16	18	13	14	22	28
Residents	F	08	02	00	06	06	08	00	00	00
Other Old	M	34	62	59	63	34	56	54	62	45
Residents	F	31	14	12	10	21	15	26	13	10
Number of Choices			50	34	51	33	52	35	45	29
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers	M	09	00	06	00	06	00	03	03	10
from Hayes	F	08	05	03	03	03	00	03	03	03
New Area	M	10	00	03	08	06	00	03	12	03
Residents	F	08	30	42	36	42	20	35	21	30
Other Old	M	34	20	10	21	10	28	23	32	23
Residents	F	31	40	35	33	32	50	32	24	30
Number of Choices			40	31	39	31	40	31	34	30

Table 7.25

Choices by White Old Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School
in Percentages, Grade Two

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=125)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers	M	09	03	09	04	12	03	06	06	10
from Hayes	F	08	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
New Area	M	10	08	17	13	12	11	12	08	10
Residents	F	08	01	02	01	02	01	08	00	05
Other Old	M	34	76	58	70	65	59	54	69	70
Residents	F	31	11	12	12	08	26	17	15	04
Number of Choices			168	130	166	130	156	118	118	102
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers	M	09	01	04	00	07	01	09	03	15
from Hayes	F	08	04	08	04	14	01	02	03	08
New Area	M	10	05	04	03	03	05	03	07	04
Residents	F	08	13	11	09	08	11	12	09	11
Other Old	M	34	14	13	18	07	27	18	33	24
Residents	F	31	61	57	65	56	54	52	45	38
Number of Choices:			150	104	154	109	146	101	120	93

Table 7.26

Choices by Negro Transfer Pupils at Tyler Elementary School
in Percentages, Grade Three

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=130)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers from Hayes	M	07	19	14	26	43	17	40	27	64
	F	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
New Area Residents	M	05	05	00	04	00	03	00	01	00
	F	04	00	00	00	00	03	00	00	00
Other Old Residents	M	45	71	57	67	57	62	50	57	36
	F	35	05	00	04	00	14	10	13	00
Number of Choices			21	14	27	14	29	10	30	11
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers from Hayes	M	07	00	00	06	00	00	06	00	06
	F	05	21	00	17	00	15	00	27	00
New Area Residents	M	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
	F	04	07	06	06	06	10	06	00	00
Other Old Residents	M	45	00	00	06	00	25	25	20	00
	F	35	71	94	67	94	50	63	53	94
Number of Choices			14	18	18	18	20	16	15	16

Table 7.27

**Choices by White New Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School
in Percentages, Grade Three**

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=130)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers	M	07	00	00	04	00	00	00	00	08
from Hayes	F	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
New Area	M	05	04	05	04	05	04	06	11	25
Residents	F	04	00	00	00	00	00	13	00	00
Other Old	M	45	92	90	84	84	75	63	84	58
Residents	F	35	04	05	08	11	21	19	05	08
Number of Choices			24	20	25	19	24	16	19	12
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers	M	07	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	14
from Hayes	F	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
New Area	M	05	00	00	05	00	00	08	00	00
Residents	F	04	10	14	15	14	11	08	06	07
Other Old	M	45	15	00	05	00	22	25	19	29
Residents	F	35	75	86	75	86	67	58	75	50
Number of Choices			20	14	20	14	18	12	16	14

Table 7.28

Choices by White Old Resident Pupils at Tyler Elementary School
in Percentages, Grade Three

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=130)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys of:</u>										
Transfers	M	07	03	05	04	03	03	01	06	06
from Hayes	F	05	00	01	00	01	00	00	00	01
New Area	M	05	09	11	08	14	05	12	06	13
Residents	F	04	01	13	01	01	01	04	01	04
Other Old	M	45	83	72	80	73	77	53	83	64
Residents	F	35	03	27	05	09	14	29	04	13
Number of Choices			217	148	214	140	195	139	189	102
<u>Choices by Girls of:</u>										
Transfers	M	07	00	01	01	00	00	00	01	01
from Hayes	F	05	00	00	00	01	00	02	01	02
New Area	M	05	02	00	02	00	03	06	02	00
Residents	F	04	06	08	06	07	06	09	05	07
Other Old	M	45	05	15	06	13	09	19	26	36
Residents	F	35	87	77	86	79	81	63	65	54
Number of Choices			169	116	174	115	172	98	165	89

Table 7.29

**Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Two**

Group	% of Pupils (N=50)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	12	11	09	10	10	04	02	10	04
Redistricted White Girls	04	02	01	01	01	02	00	04	05
All White Redistrictees	16	13	10	11	10	06	02	14	11
Redistricted Negro Boys	04	04	03	06	06	05	04	07	05
Redistricted Negro Girls	10	06	07	08	05	07	04	06	06
All Negro Redistrictees	14	10	10	13	12	12	09	13	11
White Gilbert Area Boys	34	43	39	43	42	29	43	43	51
White Gilbert Area Girls	30	30	31	28	29	46	37	27	21
Gilbert Area White Pupils	64	74	70	71	72	75	80	70	72
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	02	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	00
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	04	03	10	05	06	06	08	03	06
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	06	03	10	05	06	06	09	03	06
Number of Choices		182	184	181	187	179	182	167	178

Table 7.30

**Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Three**

Group	% of Pupils (N=41)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	05	04	01	02	02	02	01	07	03
Redistricted White Girls	05	02	01	02	01	01	01	01	01
All White Redistrictees	10	06	01	04	03	03	01	08	04
Redistricted Negro Boys	12	11	11	12	11	08	09	09	13
Redistricted Negro Girls	07	01	03	03	06	00	01	03	04
All Negro Redistrictees	19	12	13	15	17	08	01	13	17
White Gilbert Area Boys	29	32	39	47	37	40	42	45	47
White Gilbert Area Girls	31	48	42	32	39	48	44	32	31
Gilbert Area White Pupils	60	80	81	79	76	89	86	78	78
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	02	00	01	00	01	00	00	00	00
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	07	02	03	02	03	01	03	01	01
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	09	02	05	02	04	01	03	01	01
Number of Choices		151	152	129	149	151	149	148	138

Table 7.31

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Four

Group	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	07	06	05	07	03	06	04	07	01
Redistricted White Girls	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
All White Redistrictees	07	06	05	07	03	06	04	07	01
Redistricted Negro Boys	13	10	08	12	07	07	04	10	17
Redistricted Negro Girls	09	04	06	03	06	05	05	02	08
All Negro Redistrictees	22	13	14	15	13	12	08	12	24
White Gilbert Area Boys	31	36	41	33	40	36	46	40	41
White Gilbert Area Girls	33	37	36	41	38	41	39	36	30
Gilbert Area White Pupils	64	73	76	74	78	76	85	76	70
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	05	05	02	03	02	03	01	03	02
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	02	02	03	02	03	01	02	02	02
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	07	07	05	05	05	04	03	05	04
Number of Choices		186	191	170	186	174	169	142	172

Table 7.32

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared with Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Five

Group	% of Pupils (N=34)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	03	01	01	01	01	0	01	0	02
Redistricted White Girls	09	04	07	05	08	06	06	03	07
All White Redistrictees	12	06	08	06	09	06	07	03	09
Redistricted Negro Boys	06	04	06	04	05	04	04	06	08
Redistricted Negro Girls	09	01	01	01	02	00	01	01	04
All Negro Redistrictees	15	04	06	06	07	04	05	07	12
White Gilbert Area Boys	44	53	49	52	46	49	46	59	54
White Gilbert Area Girls	30	36	37	36	38	42	43	33	25
Gilbert Area White Pupils	74	90	86	88	84	91	88	90	79
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Number of Choices		137	142	135	141	138	138	116	123

Table 7.33

**Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared With Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grade Six**

Group	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistricted White Girls	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
All White Redistrictees	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistricted Negro Boys	05	02	02	01	02	01	01	01	01
Redistricted Negro Girls	09	08	04	08	06	05	02	09	08
All Negro Redistrictees	14	10	06	09	08	07	03	10	09
White Gilbert Area Boys	38	39	45	40	44	35	46	44	51
White Gilbert Area Girls	44	49	46	49	46	57	49	44	39
Gilbert Area White Pupils	82	88	91	88	89	91	95	88	90
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	04	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	00
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	04	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	00
Number of Choices		214	203	215	202	205	200	176	157

Table 7.34

Sociometric Choice Percentages Compared With Pupil Percentages at
Gilbert Elementary School, Grades Two through Six

Group	% of Pupils (N=235)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Redistricted White Boys	06	05	04	04	03	03	02	05	04
Redistricted White Girls	03	02	02	01	02	01	01	02	02
All White Redistrictees	09	07	05	05	05	04	03	07	05
Redistricted Negro Boys	08	06	06	07	06	04	04	06	09
Redistricted Negro Girls	09	05	04	05	05	03	03	05	06
All Negro Redistrictees	17	11	10	12	11	08	07	11	15
White Gilbert Area Boys	35	37	42	41	42	43	45	45	48
White Gilbert Area Girls	34	43	39	39	38	42	42	35	29
Gilbert Area White Pupils	69	79	81	80	80	85	87	80	77
Negro Gilbert Area Boys	02	01	01	01	01	01	00	01	00
Negro Gilbert Area Girls	03	01	03	02	03	01	03	01	02
Gilbert Area Negro Pupils	05	03	04	02	03	03	03	02	02
Number of Choices		870	872	830	865	847	838	749	768

Table 7.35

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages,
Grade Two

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=50)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Second Grade Boys:

White	M	12	13	14	06	13	00	00	00	06
Redistrictees	F	04	06	00	06	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	04	13	14	13	13	08	13	09	13
Redistrictees	F	10	00	00	00	00	00	00	09	00
White Gilbert	M	34	50	50	44	44	15	31	36	56
Area Pupils	F	30	00	00	06	13	38	25	09	13
Number of Choices			16	14	16	16	13	16	11	16

Choices by Second Grade Girls:

White	M	12	00	00	00	00	00	00	05	00
Redistrictees	F	04	00	05	00	06	05	05	15	05
Negro	M	04	00	00	00	00	00	00	05	00
Redistrictees	F	10	20	15	26	22	25	15	10	25
White Gilbert	M	34	25	00	11	11	05	10	05	10
Area Pupils	F	30	50	55	58	56	50	65	50	50
Number of Choices			20	20	19	18	20	20	20	20

Table 7.36

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Grade Two

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=50)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Second Grade Boys:

White	M	12	19	18	09	18	08	04	15	19
Redistrictees	F	04	00	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	04	07	02	09	10	08	05	11	04
Redistrictees	F	10	01	04	01	01	03	00	03	00
White Gilbert Area Pupils	M	34	58	52	59	49	40	63	60	65
	F	30	07	13	11	14	27	15	05	06
Number of Choices			75	76	73	77	70	74	61	69

Choices by Second Grade Girls:

White	M	12	00	00	00	00	01	00	04	08
Redistrictees	F	04	03	00	00	00	06	00	07	00
Negro	M	04	01	02	00	03	01	02	00	04
Redistrictees	F	10	06	08	12	03	06	03	04	08
White Gilbert Area Pupils	M	34	20	14	14	30	20	29	30	42
	F	30	56	60	56	54	56	52	46	30
Number of Choices			60	56	50	55	60	56	54	53

Table 7.37

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages,
Grade Three

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=41)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Third Grade Boys:

White	M	05	00	00	00	05	05	00	00	17
Redistrictees	F	05	00	00	00	05	05	05	00	00
Negro	M	12	25	10	21	15	10	05	28	17
Redistrictees	F	07	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	29	40	65	58	50	35	55	56	67
Area Pupils	F	31	25	10	05	10	40	30	06	00
Number of Choices			20	20	19	20	20	20	18	6

Choices by Third Grade Girls:

White	M	05	00	00	00	00	08	09	00	00
Redistrictees	F	05	08	08	08	08	00	00	00	08
Negro	M	12	17	17	17	17	17	18	00	33
Redistrictees	F	07	08	00	08	17	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	29	00	17	08	00	25	45	17	33
Area Pupils	F	31	58	58	50	58	50	27	83	25
Number of Choices			12	12	12	12	12	11	12	12

Table 7.38

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Grade Three

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=41)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Third Grade Boys:

White	M	05	08	00	04	04	02	00	10	04
Redistrictees	F	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	02
Negro	M	12	15	20	15	18	15	14	14	21
Redistrictees	F	07	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	29	63	54	68	47	62	48	67	47
Area Pupils	F	31	08	18	09	16	21	27	06	17
Number of Choices			52	56	53	55	53	56	51	47

Choices by Third Grade Girls:

White	M	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	02	02
Redistrictees	F	05	02	00	03	00	00	00	04	00
Negro	M	12	00	02	00	00	00	02	00	02
Redistrictees	F	07	00	03	08	07	00	02	09	07
White Gilbert	M	29	07	12	14	20	18	25	22	28
Area Pupils	F	31	86	68	68	60	78	58	57	47
Number of Choices			58	59	37	60	55	59	54	60

Table 7.39

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages,
Grade Four

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Fourth Grade Boys:</u>										
White	M	07	08	12	13	00	05	08	19	00
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	13	50	31	52	29	32	12	50	30
Redistrictees	F	09	04	00	08	00	09	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	31	21	58	26	71	32	72	13	70
Area Pupils	F	33	04	00	00	00	14	08	06	00
Number of Choices			24	26	23	24	22	25	16	23
<u>Choices by Fourth Grade Girls:</u>										
White	M	07	00	00	00	00	00	00	07	00
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	13	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	06
Redistrictees	F	09	19	35	00	35	08	17	00	19
White Gilbert	M	31	00	00	00	00	00	22	07	00
Area Pupils	F	33	63	50	87	50	77	44	71	75
Number of Choices			16	20	15	20	13	18	14	16

Table 7.40

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Grade Four

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Fourth Grade Boys:

White	M	07	10	08	10	06	12	07	09	04
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	13	06	10	08	06	03	02	07	28
Redistrictees	F	09	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	31	74	81	75	83	50	70	76	63
Area Pupils	F	33	07	02	03	03	32	19	09	04
Number of Choices			68	63	59	63	68	54	46	54

Choices by Fourth Grade Girls:

White	M	07	02	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	13	00	00	00	00	02	00	00	01
Redistrictees	F	09	05	06	05	07	08	07	05	15
White Gilbert	M	31	05	07	02	00	27	17	24	22
Area Pupils	F	33	81	77	87	84	56	65	60	54
Number of Choices			64	70	62	69	62	69	58	68

Table 7.41

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages,
Grade Five

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=34)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Fifth Grade Boys:

White	M	03	13	06	08	06	00	06	00	07
Redistrictees	F	09	00	00	00	00	00	06	00	00
Negro	M	06	25	19	23	19	19	19	33	20
Redistrictees	F	09	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	44	50	38	38	44	56	25	44	53
Area Pupils	F	30	00	00	00	00	00	13	00	00
Number of Choices			16	16	13	16	16	16	9	15

Choices by Fifth Grade Girls:

White	M	03	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	00	25	13	25	13	08	00	33
Negro	M	06	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	13	00	25	00	00	00	17	00
White Gilbert	M	44	00	00	00	00	13	17	00	00
Area Pupils	F	30	75	75	62	75	62	75	83	67
Number of Choices			8	12	8	12	8	12	6	6

Table 7.42

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Grade Five

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=34)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Fifth Grade Boys:

White	M	03	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	02
Redistrictees	F	09	00	03	00	03	01	03	00	02
Negro	M	06	00	04	03	05	01	03	05	12
Redistrictees	F	09	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
White Gilbert	M	44	80	73	78	72	56	46	79	67
Area Pupils	F	30	09	09	10	09	28	34	05	05
Number of Choices			70	67	72	64	72	67	61	57

Choices by Fifth Grade Girls:

White	M	03	00	00	00	02	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	10	08	06	10	09	06	07	09
Negro	M	06	00	02	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	00	00	00	04	00	02	00	11
White Gilbert	M	44	13	18	13	18	28	38	20	26
Area Pupils	F	30	56	61	58	56	51	40	59	41
Number of Choices			48	49	48	50	47	48	41	46

Table 7.43

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages,
Grade Six

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Sixth Grade Boys:

White	M	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	05	13	00	13	08	13	08	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	13	00	00	08	13	00	13	00
White Gilbert	M	38	38	1.00	50	75	50	67	50	80
Area Pupils	F	44	38	00	38	08	25	25	38	20
Number of Choices			8	12	8	12	8	12	8	12

Choices by Sixth Grade Girls:

White	M	00	00	05	04	00	00	11	00	00
Redistrictees	F	00	04	05	04	05	00	00	05	00
Negro	M	05	04	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	42	30	46	37	20	11	35	38
White Gilbert	M	38	00	00	08	00	10	21	05	23
Area Pupils	F	44	42	50	29	42	65	57	40	08
Number of Choices			24	20	24	19	20	19	20	13

Table 7.44

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Grade Six

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=55)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post

Choices by Sixth Grade Boys:

White	M	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	05	03	05	01	05	03	01	03	02
Redistrictees	F	09	01	00	03	00	01	00	02	00
White Gilbert	M	38	96	94	90	92	65	76	90	94
Area Pupils	F	44	00	01	06	03	31	23	05	05
Number of Choices			79	83	80	84	77	82	62	65

Choices by Sixth Grade Girls:

White	M	00	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	01
Redistrictees	F	00	01	01	01	01	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	05	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	02	01	03	03	02	01	05	08
White Gilbert	M	38	04	01	04	02	17	21	19	11
Area Pupils	F	44	91	94	90	91	80	75	75	76
Number of Choices			100	88	100	88	96	84	84	72

Table 7.45

Choices by Negro Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Total

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=235)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys:</u>										
White	M	06	07	07	06	05	03	03	05	04
Redistrictees	F	03	01	00	01	01	01	02	00	00
Negro	M	08	29	17	28	18	18	11	27	19
Redistrictees	F	09	02	00	03	01	04	00	03	00
White Gilbert	M	35	38	60	42	57	37	52	39	64
Area Pupils	F	34	11	02	06	07	23	19	10	06
Number of Choices			84	88	79	88	79	89	62	70
<u>Choices by Girls:</u>										
White	M	06	00	01	01	00	01	04	03	00
Redistrictees	F	03	03	07	04	07	03	03	06	06
Negro	M	08	04	02	03	02	03	03	01	07
Redistrictees	F	09	24	19	24	25	14	09	14	19
White Gilbert	M	35	06	02	06	02	10	21	07	13
Area Pupils	F	34	54	56	54	54	62	56	60	45
Number of Choices			80	84	78	81	73	80	72	67

Table 7.46

Choices by White Redistricted Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages, Total

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=235)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys:</u>										
White	M	06	17	12	17	08	08	04	16	02
Redistrictees	F	03	03	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
Negro	M	08	05	08	12	10	12	09	16	16
Redistrictees	F	09	03	00	02	02	12	04	04	03
White Gilbert	M	35	59	63	62	63	45	45	52	60
Area Pupils	F	34	05	10	00	08	20	32	10	10
Number of Choices			58	52	52	48	51	47	50	58
<u>Choices by Girls:</u>										
White	M	06	00	00	03	00	03	04	19	00
Redistrictees	F	03	03	04	10	08	03	04	03	09
Negro	M	08	03	00	00	00	00	04	00	00
Redistrictees	F	09	13	21	13	27	03	15	13	13
White Gilbert	M	35	00	11	06	08	10	26	25	35
Area Pupils	F	34	71	46	52	50	72	33	34	39
Number of Choices			31	28	31	26	29	27	32	23

Table 7.47

Choices by White Area Pupils at Gilbert School in Percentages. Total

Group	Sex	% of Pupils (N=235)	Take Home to Play		Best Friends		Help with Schoolwork		Captain of Team	
			Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
<u>Choices by Boys:</u>										
White	M	06	07	05	04	06	04	02	06	06
Redistrictees	F	03	00	01	00	01	00	01	00	01
Negro	M	08	06	08	07	08	05	05	08	12
Redistrictees	F	09	01	01	01	00	01	00	01	00
White Gilbert	M	35	75	72	74	70	54	61	75	68
Area Pupils	F	34	06	08	08	09	28	23	06	07
Number of Choices			344	345	337	343	340	334	281	292
<u>Choices by Girls:</u>										
White	M	06	00	00	00	00	00	00	01	02
Redistrictees	F	03	03	02	02	02	02	01	03	01
Negro	M	08	00	01	00	01	01	01	00	01
Redistrictees	F	09	03	03	05	05	03	03	05	10
White Gilbert	M	35	09	09	08	12	21	25	23	25
Area Pupils	F	34	77	75	76	72	67	60	61	52
Number of Choices			330	322	297	322	320	316	291	299

gulf between the bused subjects and the "regular" pupils. It should be noted, however, that the disadvantaged transfer group was not only shuttled into and out of a largely unfamiliar environment daily, but was also confronted with perhaps the most competitive academic and social situation in the city and its environs. It would not have been surprising, perhaps, had there been a year of relative regression, but there was not. That the youngsters did as well as they did, keeping up with if not exceeding the performance of their peers at their former school, suggests that even greater progress may lie ahead for them. A one year follow-up, however, hardly permits more than tentative conclusions to be drawn.

Perhaps the transferred youngsters would have moved even faster in a less drastically new and different environment. This inference draws support from a limited study done in the same school system the following year, when a more extensive busing program involving several elementary schools was undertaken.¹ An examination of reading scores of fourth grade subjects showed that the reading achievement of bused pupils was significantly higher after one year than was that of a matched comparison group at the predominantly Negro school even though there had been no difference between the groups in reading achievement at the beginning of the year. Since this was a study of fourth graders bused with less fanfare than had marked the previous year's desegregation effort, it is not directly comparable with the work described above. Nevertheless, it seems at least plausible that the markedly different result was due largely to the fact that most of the receiving schools in this case had records of average, rather than superior, pupil achievement. Should this tentative conclusion find further support, the implications for future desegregation programs seem apparent.

The data provide at least suggestive evidence that teachers in the inner city perceive children's behavior differently than do their counterparts in middle class schools. While this is not surprising, it may help to remind us of the importance of teachers' expectations and perceptions in the successful implementation of desegregation programs. Apparently some teachers in the host school did take the first step--they seem to have individualized their pupils increasingly as the year progressed. This conclusion derives from the observation that relatively more ratings at both extremes were given on the posttest than on the pretest. The fact that Tyler pupils from the inner city tended to receive higher ratings and scores on social adjustment than on personal adjustment relative to their

¹The cooperation of Mr. Ronald D. Ayer, who conducted the study, is acknowledged with appreciation.

middle class counterparts may reflect the kinds of stress to which they have had to learn to adapt and may suggest ways in which they can best be helped.

The sociometric results tend to confirm the existence of racial and social class cleavages even in the primary grades. Except for the somewhat surprising finding that second grade girls at Tyler chose so many bused Negro boys on the posttest, the data seemed generally stable and consistent throughout the groups involved. While the Tyler second grade results may have been due to a statistical accident, a tempting explanation is that the girls sensed the need of the Negro newcomers and tried to "mother" them. In the third grade, the girls were a year older and, we would have to assume, had already been taught that this was not "the thing to do." As has been mentioned before, the newcomers at Gilbert were (for a variety of reasons) not "strangers" in the same sense that those at Tyler were. In any case, the hypothesis just suggested for the Tyler findings is a tenuous one at best and is offered as a basis for possible future investigations only.

The fact that it seems to have taken bused Negro second graders longer to become accepted than it did new resident whites may reflect any or all of several sets of circumstances. The socio-cultural differences between the groups were great, and the bused Negroes may have been stigmatized by their arrival and departure as a group each day. In addition, they lacked the opportunity for after school neighborhood contact with their classmates except through occasional specially arranged parties and the like. Nevertheless, unlike their counterparts in the third grade, they do seem to have been accepted by the end of the school year. Unfortunately, sociometric data for the following year are not available, so we cannot say whether the second graders drew apart again when they became third graders.

The data suggest that, except for the third grade girls, the bused Negroes did not feel really "at home" among their classmates even at the end of the year. It may also be, however, that the in-group choices made by most of the bused Negroes reflect friendships established and nurtured at home, on the daily round trip by bus, and in the lunchroom which was provided at Tyler largely for bused children. Perhaps this suggests a "built-in" limitation of busing programs designed to promote integration by transporting a minority of the children who attend a school that is identified, socially and geographically, with another neighborhood. Incidentally, the results also suggest that even the white new resident second graders may not have felt fully accepted by the end of the year.

The results at Gilbert hardly shed much additional light on the findings, although they do reflect the social class and racial cleavages that are usually reported in studies of this kind. Since even the Tyler area new resident pupils did not assimilate immediately, it seems that assimilation in a new classroom may be a difficult and sometimes lengthy process at best. It seems plausible that the process is doubly difficult for minority group newcomers who are, in a sense, doubly handicapped. Among important questions that remain are how much of a "time price" is inevitable and necessary as well as how schools can facilitate rapid assimilation for homogeneous and diverse groups alike. Not only the movement toward school desegregation, but also the generally high mobility rate among our population suggest that we need to understand better the processes involved in the academic and social assimilation of new pupils at all grade levels.

Chapter Eight

Test Results in the Junior High Schools

As has been detailed elsewhere in this report, the projected junior high school transfers were subject to even more attrition than were those at the elementary school level. One result of this was that the N's in the critical study groups were often too small to permit much meaningful analysis or discussion. Intelligence scores were available at the ninth grade level only, since the school system does not regularly test intelligence at grades seven and eight and requested that the research team avoid an additional test at those grade levels. Achievement tests were given in all three grades, but such scores could not be combined because of differences in grade level norms and groups studied, because different forms of the test were used at different grade levels, and because the posttests were not all administered at the same time.

The intelligence test results, presented in Table 8.1, tend to confirm the generally high level of scholastic ability represented at Dexter, the average level represented at Bailey, and the below average level that predominated at Peterson and, particularly, at Jefferson. The new residents attending Bailey seem to have raised their scores from the Peterson level to the Bailey level during the course of the year, but this observation should be viewed as hypothetical. The achievement test results (Tables 8.2-8.7) tell us little more. Specifically, there seems to be no consistent pattern of greater progress for former Peterson students at Jefferson or Bailey, or for Jefferson students remaining there versus those who went to Dexter. Where trends do begin to emerge, the N's involved seem effectively to frustrate the search for clear implications. In any case, the scores show virtually no surprises and do not seem to lend much support to the contention that students who went to Jefferson from Peterson tended to be less able than those who went to Bailey. What seems to be needed for a more adequate appraisal of such programs, in addition to larger N's and longer follow-up, is a method of relating specific elements of the desegregation experience to its results.

The California Test of Personality was also administered at

¹The achievement posttests for grades seven and eight were administered in the fall of 1965 instead of in the spring to minimize demands on classroom time.

the junior high school level and, in this case, it was possible to combine results in grades eight and nine.¹ These data, summarized in Tables 8.8-8.10, generally follow the pattern that was observed on the elementary school level. There are few consistent differences among the former Peterson and Jefferson groups whether at Jefferson, Dexter, or Bailey. The "regular" Bailey and Dexter students do seem to have slightly higher scores than do the newcomers from the inner city, perhaps suggesting that the latter groups could benefit from additional special attention. An important prior question may be, however, how this test or testing itself has different meanings to the various groups. The point has been amply made in the literature that differing scores may not mean what they seem to mean when the subjects come from markedly different sociocultural subgroups.

While a variety of factors including student rejection of sociometric measures, lack of adequate validation data on several experimental measures, and delays attributable to computer mismanagement helped to limit the available junior high school test results, the attrition in the critical groups seems to have been the most significant single causal factor involved. The problems mentioned, however, all served to limit the assessment of nonacademic variables in particular. This gap should be closed to some extent when the Student Opinion Test results become available. The implication for future studies, however, seems clear: greater flexibility is needed in the development and implementation of projects in controversial areas such as this where significantly changing situations beyond the control of the investigators must be anticipated.

¹The seventh grade remained a special case because virtually all seventh graders were new to their schools.

Table 8.1

California Test of Mental Maturity--Grade Nine

Group		Verbal		Nonverbal		Total	
		I.Q.		I.Q.		I.Q.	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	1	9	1	9	1	9
	$\bar{X}$	95.00	87.56	81.00	96.33	88.00	91.56
	SD	-	18.95	-	15.04	-	16.14
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	10	15	10	15	10	15
	$\bar{X}$	79.10	84.07	72.80	83.60	76.20	83.73
	SD	13.15	11.84	11.88	17.47	10.88	13.05
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	13	12	13	12	13	12
	$\bar{X}$	88.76	85.75	92.15	91.75	90.30	89.33
	SD	10.65	6.43	5.29	17.54	8.57	6.29
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	4	4	4	4	4	4
	$\bar{X}$	88.00	84.50	90.75	97.25	89.25	90.75
	SD	7.02	9.00	6.95	4.27	4.19	4.57
New Dexter Area Residents	N	12	12	12	12	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	113.58	116.50	112.67	115.58	113.08	116.08
	SD	15.72	8.43	18.05	18.38	14.59	12.18
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	16	16	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	114.62	114.69	113.65	122.30	114.18	119.69
	SD	12.52	13.86	14.76	13.97	11.60	11.79
To Bailey From Peterson	N	34	54	34	54	34	54
	$\bar{X}$	90.38	90.28	92.44	96.19	91.50	92.94
	SD	12.50	12.25	16.16	16.33	11.81	12.71
New Bailey Area Residents	N	33	36	33	36	33	36
	$\bar{X}$	91.18	97.92	91.67	100.94	91.42	99.53
	SD	11.32	14.06	14.30	10.94	10.21	12.17
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	30	54	30	54	30	54
	$\bar{X}$	99.00	96.78	98.57	99.93	99.00	98.31
	SD	14.77	13.18	16.51	15.82	13.81	13.71

Table 8.2

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Vocabulary)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	7	7	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	65.00	78.50	88.86	95.43	87.50	88.50
	SD	15.10	12.87	10.89	17.26	31.82	30.41
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	-	-	7	7	11	8
	$\bar{X}$	-	-	69.57	71.86	64.73	72.87
	SD	-	-	19.70	19.16	17.57	20.64
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	14	14	14	13
	$\bar{X}$	64.72	68.95	61.42	66.57	76.00	82.07
	SD	14.46	16.46	14.24	13.02	13.81	9.62
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	7	7	5	5
	$\bar{X}$	77.11	83.89	69.29	71.71	80.00	84.60
	SD	13.71	18.68	15.59	12.57	8.49	8.96
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	86.23	95.31	97.22	104.56	107.17	108.83
	SD	13.60	14.40	17.22	16.37	10.56	10.77
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	134	134	16	16	17	17
	$\bar{X}$	88.67	96.46	98.75	103.43	108.88	112.76
	SD	12.36	13.89	11.99	10.17	10.48	12.49
To Bailey From Peterson	N	19	19	28	28	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	67.00	75.21	79.25	83.18	84.85	91.44
	SD	13.87	15.58	13.93	16.60	21.26	19.11
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	73.23	76.00	86.37	96.50	91.59	95.59
	SD	15.85	17.73	15.13	15.24	12.03	11.98
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	219	219	28	28	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	75.92	81.86	85.57	90.36	92.78	94.93
	SD	13.54	15.07	15.31	18.97	14.29	16.12

Table 8.3

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Reading Comprehension)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	7	7	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	62.00	65.25	80.00	86.71	80.00	90.50
	SD	10.39	19.64	17.48	17.25	33.94	24.75
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	-	-	7	7	11	8
	$\bar{X}$	-	-	64.71	76.00	64.91	66.37
	SD	-	-	19.53	16.92	19.02	22.85
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	14	14	14	13
	$\bar{X}$	62.47	65.52	64.78	71.21	75.64	78.39
	SD	12.38	63.99	10.74	13.75	10.54	13.63
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	7	7	4	4
	$\bar{X}$	72.00	79.78	61.86	60.43	73.50	83.50
	SD	17.87	14.53	15.76	15.39	12.66	5.20
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	84.54	91.38	94.00	99.33	99.08	101.83
	SD	15.19	12.71	16.67	19.58	12.54	15.79
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	134	134	16	16	16	16
	$\bar{X}$	86.71	94.40	97.45	99.56	104.81	108.06
	SD	15.08	16.22	11.54	12.23	14.70	10.24
To Bailey From Peterson	N	20	20	28	28	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	67.75	70.20	79.61	84.14	83.78	89.81
	SD	15.06	15.67	15.71	14.96	19.99	15.90
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	70.77	70.15	84.38	85.81	84.15	89.85
	SD	14.58	11.50	15.51	21.50	12.75	14.47
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	219	219	28	28	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	74.16	79.11	84.46	89.29	90.19	93.37
	SD	13.67	16.14	16.93	18.39	14.80	14.64

Table 8.4

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Language Skills)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	7	7	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	57.50	59.00	72.86	74.86	78.50	83.50
	SD	22.23	18.02	18.85	17.71	36.06	40.31
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	-	-	7	7	11	8
	$\bar{X}$	-	-	73.43	79.29	65.64	70.44
	SD	-	-	22.11	17.66	16.41	21.11
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	14	14	14	13
	$\bar{X}$	59.22	64.31	62.43	65.28	75.43	79.76
	SD	16.00	16.19	11.77	11.91	11.95	10.71
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	6	6	4	4
	$\bar{X}$	68.67	64.89	57.50	65.17	79.50	80.50
	SD	16.64	13.00	6.32	8.47	17.33	16.36
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	13	13
	$\bar{X}$	85.54	90.08	92.44	97.78	100.54	102.15
	SD	17.63	21.29	19.89	18.65	12.20	16.24
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	134	134	15	15	17	17
	$\bar{X}$	88.54	93.09	95.06	99.26	102.76	104.22
	SD	15.90	17.61	14.04	15.55	9.70	9.41
To Bailey From Peterson	N	20	20	27	27	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	69.10	70.45	78.22	85.63	81.33	85.74
	SD	13.58	15.72	15.99	15.96	16.83	16.61
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	67.85	70.38	76.75	81.50	84.15	88.89
	SD	15.40	14.57	12.48	19.49	12.54	14.05
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	220	220	27	27	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	76.75	80.44	84.56	89.48	83.89	89.41
	SD	15.13	17.65	14.96	15.42	15.32	16.77

Table 8.5

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Work-Study Skills)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	7	7	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	62.00	76.25	79.00	86.83	83.00	84.50
	SD	9.83	9.60	13.90	15.54	14.14	.71
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	-	-	7	7	11	8
	$\bar{X}$	-	-	69.43	82.14	66.64	73.00
	SD	-	-	18.36	18.06	12.73	18.69
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	13	13	14	12
	$\bar{X}$	59.75	64.50	64.76	70.00	70.71	79.08
	SD	12.99	15.26	10.12	12.96	9.48	12.61
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	7	7	5	5
	$\bar{X}$	66.78	72.56	65.14	65.71	81.20	82.40
	SD	15.29	11.90	9.30	13.38	14.46	11.41
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	82.00	90.92	92.67	101.22	97.58	102.08
	SD	13.45	13.33	12.80	17.62	12.18	11.78
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	132	132	16	16	17	17
	$\bar{X}$	87.23	94.73	121.25	103.18	107.06	113.11
	SD	14.99	15.66	12.58	15.73	11.41	11.47
To Bailey From Peterson	N	20	20	28	28	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	67.30	73.40	77.29	84.75	86.54	91.23
	SD	12.27	24.36	12.63	12.57	16.15	16.66
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	70.31	76.85	77.81	86.19	83.56	82.15
	SD	7.25	10.18	12.49	16.46	14.01	28.37
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	219	219	28	28	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	74.10	82.25	82.82	91.57	90.31	94.88
	SD	13.99	16.12	12.78	15.19	14.73	16.40

Table 8.6

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Arithmetic Skills)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	7	7	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	63.00	69.75	71.14	80.43	75.00	76.50
	SD	8.04	19.94	18.58	16.12	12.73	13.44
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	-	-	7	7	11	9
	$\bar{X}$	-	-	76.33	85.17	69.45	67.89
	SD	-	-	20.01	17.30	14.62	15.37
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	13	13	14	13
	$\bar{X}$	60.72	67.03	70.46	73.46	75.85	78.84
	SD	11.81	12.59	10.89	10.03	12.70	10.08
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	6	6	5	5
	$\bar{X}$	61.87	64.78	62.33	65.50	77.00	76.00
	SD	11.75	12.61	8.89	10.88	5.92	12.92
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	12	12
	$\bar{X}$	76.08	74.85	87.89	96.00	100.25	102.75
	SD	13.65	14.89	12.92	17.06	7.46	10.83
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	133	133	15	15	17	17
	$\bar{X}$	83.04	87.59	93.33	99.00	100.58	105.53
	SD	13.15	14.84	13.58	13.60	13.39	12.13
To Bailey From Peterson	N	20	20	28	28	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	69.95	74.90	76.89	81.43	83.62	85.15
	SD	13.47	13.06	11.29	14.19	14.72	15.65
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	65.69	77.69	76.12	83.94	85.52	88.15
	SD	11.71	9.21	12.75	11.86	14.85	14.76
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	220	220	28	28	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	74.54	80.70	80.00	87.46	88.35	91.08
	SD	12.37	14.61	11.97	14.77	16.45	16.44

Table 8.7

Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Composite)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grade Eight		Grade Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson From Peterson	N	4	4	6	6	2	2
	$\bar{X}$	62.00	69.50	79.17	84.67	81.00	84.50
	SD	11.49	13.89	14.36	14.31	25.46	21.92
New Jefferson Area Residents	N	6	6	6	6	11	8
	$\bar{X}$	58.67	68.17	72.83	81.33	66.45	71.00
	SD	8.04	8.95	18.24	15.36	13.44	17.20
Old Jefferson Area Residents	N	64	64	12	12	14	12
	$\bar{X}$	61.34	66.34	64.16	68.91	74.78	71.14
	SD	10.97	12.03	8.64	9.92	8.87	8.40
To Dexter From Jefferson	N	9	9	6	6	4	4
	$\bar{X}$	69.33	73.22	60.67	65.00	77.50	81.25
	SD	13.47	11.43	5.47	5.44	9.18	9.74
New Dexter Area Residents	N	13	13	9	9	11	11
	$\bar{X}$	82.85	88.54	92.78	99.78	100.18	102.55
	SD	12.71	13.82	14.81	16.97	9.63	12.44
Old Dexter Area Residents	N	132	132	15	15	15	15
	$\bar{X}$	86.78	93.23	98.33	102.06	103.12	108.62
	SD	12.84	13.95	10.49	10.71	11.03	9.84
To Bailey From Peterson	N	20	20	27	27	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	68.40	73.45	77.93	83.63	83.81	88.62
	SD	11.76	12.67	11.06	12.35	15.78	14.46
New Bailey Area Residents	N	13	13	16	16	27	27
	$\bar{X}$	69.62	74.31	80.31	86.81	85.78	89.59
	SD	10.97	8.92	9.80	15.56	10.89	12.74
Old Bailey Area Residents	N	220	220	27	27	26	26
	$\bar{X}$	75.04	80.53	84.15	90.48	89.31	93.38
	SD	11.66	14.86	10.68	13.41	12.51	13.21

Table 8.8

California Test of Personality (Personal Adjustment)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grades Eight and Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson	N	8	6	10	10
From Peterson	X	60.12	59.33	56.50	57.50
	SD	10.99	8.69	9.70	16.46
New Jefferson	N	16	10	14	14
Area Residents	X	53.00	53.60	61.00	62.50
	SD	16.60	15.26	15.74	12.43
Old Jefferson	N	80	72	24	24
Area Residents	X	56.39	61.26	62.41	67.20
	SD	12.84	13.94	9.61	8.88
To Dexter	N	7	7	8	8
From Jefferson	X	60.71	59.71	55.62	60.00
	SD	12.08	16.38	10.18	14.53
New Dexter	N	17	17	14	14
Area Residents	X	66.35	68.06	65.57	68.14
	SD	15.62	13.79	15.87	18.23
Old Dexter	N	136	136	22	22
Area Residents	X	70.99	72.98	68.45	71.22
	SD	12.48	11.72	11.66	12.11
To Bailey	N	29	29	69	51
From Peterson	X	58.66	62.79	62.45	67.61
	SD	15.96	15.06	15.77	16.23
New Bailey	N	19	19	60	39
Area Residents	X	68.89	67.05	65.97	66.56
	SD	11.30	15.21	12.74	15.21
Old Bailey	N	215	215	64	55
Area Residents	X	67.79	70.13	67.58	71.13
	SD	14.04	14.57	11.54	12.56

Table 8.9

California Test of Personality (Social Adjustment)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grades Eight and Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson	N	8	6	10	10
From Peterson	$\bar{X}$	55.00	58.67	61.10	61.70
	SD	15.35	13.69	10.61	15.80
New Jefferson	N	16	10	14	14
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	61.12	61.60	65.93	58.71
	SD	14.86	11.25	12.85	20.06
Old Jefferson	N	80	71	24	24
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	56.86	61.26	58.66	61.66
	SD	10.99	12.76	11.20	10.64
To Dexter	N	7	7	8	8
From Jefferson	$\bar{X}$	60.00	55.86	58.25	62.50
	SD	9.36	14.50	15.44	12.98
New Dexter	N	17	17	14	14
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	72.35	68.00	70.00	69.64
	SD	9.94	12.61	15.08	14.40
Old Dexter	N	136	136	22	22
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	74.51	73.40	70.13	69.59
	SD	10.28	11.68	10.29	12.24
To Bailey	N	29	29	69	51
From Peterson	$\bar{X}$	62.41	63.41	66.67	70.27
	SD	11.34	17.50	12.67	13.49
New Bailey	N	19	19	60	39
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	68.32	69.05	68.85	67.44
	SD	13.35	13.29	11.95	14.00
Old Bailey	N	215	215	64	55
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	71.37	72.35	69.86	71.31
	SD	12.61	12.72	12.09	13.39

Table 8.10

California Test of Personality (Total Adjustment)--Junior High Schools

Group		Grade Seven		Grades Eight and Nine	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post
To Jefferson	N	8	6	10	10
From Peterson	$\bar{X}$	115.12	118.00	117.60	119.20
	SD	25.15	19.94	19.27	30.82
New Jefferson	N	16	10	14	14
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	114.12	115.20	126.93	121.21
	SD	28.66	24.93	24.21	27.97
Old Jefferson	N	80	71	24	24
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	113.25	119.89	120.72	128.87
	SD	21.32	23.50	18.95	17.08
To Dexter	N	7	7	8	8
From Jefferson	$\bar{X}$	120.71	115.57	113.87	122.50
	SD	19.62	29.00	20.57	26.79
New Dexter	N	17	17	14	14
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	138.71	136.06	135.57	137.79
	SD	24.75	22.73	30.09	30.47
Old Dexter	N	136	136	22	22
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	145.76	146.38	140.86	140.81
	SD	21.12	21.55	20.42	23.17
To Bailey	N	29	29	69	51
From Peterson	$\bar{X}$	121.07	126.21	129.12	137.88
	SD	25.35	30.11	26.73	28.16
New Bailey	N	19	19	60	39
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	137.21	136.11	134.82	134.00
	SD	22.15	26.08	22.94	27.18
Old Bailey	N	215	215	64	55
Area Residents	$\bar{X}$	139.16	142.47	137.44	142.98
	SD	25.00	25.56	21.25	24.25

Part Seven--Parent Opinion Survey

Background and Methodology:

The Parent Opinion Survey was not specifically contemplated at the time the project was originally proposed, but it seemed to be a logical extension in view of the broad-ranging, exploratory nature of the work. The progress report submitted in February, 1965, to the funding agencies did propose an ex post facto study of the determinants and consequences of parental decisions about whether their children would participate in voluntary desegregation programs even though this was not part of the original proposal. In addition, the reactions of parents from all groups involved were to be explored insofar as seemed feasible and potentially productive. Ideally, data on the families to be studied would have been obtained before, during, and after the school year. Due to the competing responsibilities that were attendant on the beginning of the project, however, time to design and implement this phase of the work was not available until later.

Limited resources of time and personnel also precluded the representation of all groups of transfers, controls, and receiving school parents in the survey.¹ Gilbert School parents were eliminated from consideration first, on the basis that they probably did not perceive themselves as being involved in a desegregation situation. As has been detailed elsewhere, the newcomers to Gilbert included a substantial minority of white pupils, and the school's racial balance was only slightly affected. In addition, the reassignments maintained the neighborhood school concept, with all pupils in walking distance, and resulted from the long-scheduled closing of older school facilities.

Parents whose children were involved in the Peterson-to-Jefferson "reverse integration" attempt were also given relatively low priority, primarily because the high attrition rate left too few desegregated subjects to provide a meaningful group. In addition, parental efforts to defeat and, later, to evade the plan (described

¹This substudy was not begun until the summer of 1965, and it was felt that interviews conducted after the beginning of the subsequent school year in September would be limited in their usefulness, so an early September cut-off date was established.

elsewhere in this report) made the overwhelming sentiment clear. It was also felt that attempts to reach such a sensitive group might reawaken old resentments and could have negative social consequences that would exceed the potential value of the work. This decision, to omit the one white group which had been chosen to desegregate what had been an almost all-Negro setting, was made reluctantly, since the results might have had significant implications for reference group theory, decision-making in planning desegregation programs, and intergroup educational practice, but it seemed to be the best course to follow under the circumstances.

Time limitations also precluded the completion, coding, and analysis of interviews that were conducted with parents of children attending the other redistricted junior high school, Dexter, where about 75 pupils had been reassigned from the overwhelmingly Negro, lower class Jefferson Junior High. It was felt that the elementary school transfer of pupils from Hayes School to Tyler School, which involved busing and the most clear-cut desegregation situation, provided the potentially most fruitful groups on which to focus the parent survey. The alternative of selecting smaller samples from a larger number of groups seemed less attractive in view of the limited numbers available in several critical categories and the widely varying treatments of the data that would have been required. Therefore, it was decided to do as complete a job as possible based on the Hayes-Tyler transfer, and this section refers primarily to that part of the desegregation "package."

In addition to the summer survey, an attempt was made to gain additional insight from an unanticipated series of events that developed the following spring, when the Board of Education presented its desegregation plan for the next year. Included in the plan was the busing of almost twenty per cent of the pupils from Hayes to other schools as a first step in the projected closing of Hayes several years later. As is detailed elsewhere in the present report, many civil rights and other groups responded negatively to this proposal, and the school was boycotted in an effort to underscore the view that the plan would place an unfair burden on the predominantly lower class, Negro families whose neighborhood school was involved. This situation provided a seemingly unique opportunity for productive further study.

At the height of the controversy, many of the parents who had been interviewed during the summer were interviewed again with particular reference to their perceptions of the schools involved and their attitudes toward integration. The primary purpose of

this follow-up was to determine, if possible, the extent to which the new stance and its apparent militance was a grass roots phenomenon and the extent to which it reflected the sentiments of protest group leadership without broad-based, popular understanding and support. Unfortunately for the research attempt, the crisis had erupted suddenly, and neither the interview schedule nor the sample could be planned as carefully as we would have liked in the time available. The work was attempted anyway, but only about half of the respondents in the original survey could be located and interviewed during the critical period. Since these mothers proved not to be representative of the summer group and since they were so few in number, no systematic, comparative analysis was attempted. It was clear, however, that few of the parents interviewed seemed to be particularly involved in or more than superficially aware of the furor in which their community and school were immersed.

The three papers that follow detail the method, results, and some of the apparent implications of the Parent Opinion Survey. They are concerned, respectively, with the social characteristics and educational aspirations of parents who accepted and declined the integration option, with parental perceptions of the schools involved, and with parental perceptions of pupil assimilation and integration. A sample interview schedule is presented in an appendix. The Survey was directed by Laurence T. Cagle, and the papers that follow were written by him in collaboration with Jerome Beker.

Chapter Nine

Social Characteristics and Educational Aspirations: Parents of Bused Transfers, Refusers, and Host School Children¹

The current social ferment among Negroes in the United States is reflected in a wide variety of goals and strategies. The predominant objective seems to be the attainment of neither more nor less than the economic and social opportunities which are available to the average white citizen. However, the presence of the Black Muslims and other such groups reveals that, as with any social movement, there is no unanimity as to either ends or means. This raises a crucial question: What kinds of Negroes accept or participate in what kinds of changes?

Reference group theory would lead one to believe that high status and/or socially mobile Negroes are most likely to emulate the white, middle class way of life.² After having tested some of the implications of reference group theory within a sample of the Philadelphia Negro community, Parker and Kleiner came to the conclusion that:

Negroes in the higher status positions tend to have values more similar to those of the white middle class, stronger desires to associate with whites, more internalization of negative attitudes toward other Negroes, and relatively weaker ethnic identification, than individuals in lower status positions.³

¹An abbreviated version of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in Miami, August, 1966.

²Two standard sources on reference group theory are: Herbert H. Hyman, The Psychology of Status (New York: Archives of Psychology, No. 269, 1942); Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised ed., (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

³Seymour Parker and Robert Kleiner, "Status Position, Mobility, and Ethnic Identification of the Negro," Journal of Social Issues, XX (April, 1964), pp. 85-102, at p. 102.

Furthermore, they present evidence which suggests that high status reference groups are the primary determinant of ethnic identification patterns among mobile Negroes, with other groups exerting a secondary influence.¹ But, as Parker and Kleiner recognize, they have no direct test of reference group theory, since the Negroes in their sample were not asked to which group they aspired.

Further confirmation that social status is associated with identification with or acceptance of whites is afforded by the research of Westie and Howard.² Using four social distance scales, Westie and Howard found that the higher the occupational status of Negroes, the less the social distance expressed toward whites in general and higher (occupational) status whites in particular.

Even if we surmise that higher status Negroes are more congenial to integration, however, we cannot directly infer what stance they will take relative to the integration process, e.g., gradualistic vs. accelerated integration, legalistic vs. "protest" tactics, etc. While this question is pregnant with implications for social policy, little is known systematically about what kinds of strategies Negroes of differing social strata feel are efficacious for integration. The present paper focuses on one area of concern in this context, the characteristics of predominantly low status Negro parents who either accept or decline an opportunity for integrated education for their children.

There are good reasons for expecting education to be more congenial to higher status Negroes as an avenue of social mobility and, correlatively, integration. Education is the steppingstone to nonmanual occupations and the wider sphere of middle class life. Educational aspirations, for instance, have been found to be directly related to the social status of whites, even when intelligence is controlled.³ Two studies undertaken in Phila-

¹Ibid., pp. 99-102.

²Frank R. Westie and David H. Howard, "Social Status Differentials and the Race Attitudes of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 584-591.

³William H. Sewell, et al., "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

delphia, one being that of Parker and Kleiner,¹ have documented that higher social status among Negroes is directly related to educational aspirations for children. Within a sample of lower class Negro mothers, Bell found that educational aspirations of mothers for their children were related to the mothers' educational attainment.² Given this relationship between social status and aspirations, then, we hypothesized that parents who accepted a school integration option for their children, as opposed to those who declined, would tend to be of relatively higher social status and would have higher educational aspirations for their children.

Pertinent Studies

As far as can be ascertained, there are only three studies which deal directly with Negro parental decisions on sending children to desegregated elementary schools, the situation most comparable to the research reported here. All are concerned, in one way or another, with social status differentials. Two of the three studies found a positive association between higher social status and the decision to transfer children; the third found an inverse relationship. Two of the three studies tested for other variables, a few of which will be reviewed here.

As part of a pilot project assessing the Open Enrollment Program in New York City, Saenger interviewed matched pairs of predominantly Negro parents who either volunteered or declined to have their children bused to desegregated elementary schools.³ He reports that the parents of children who transferred had higher incomes, more education, and more prestigious occupations. Income figures are not presented and the occupational differences are small, but 23 of the 34 parents from the transfer group and only 12 of the 33 parents from the non-transfer group had completed a

¹Parker and Kleiner, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

²Robert R. Bell, "Lower Class Negro Mothers' Aspirations for Their Children," Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 493-500, at pp. 497-499.

³Gerhart Saenger, "The First Year of the Open Enrollment Program: A Pilot Study," Report to the Commission on Intergroup Relations (New York: New York Univ., June, 1961). Mimeographed.

high school education or more.¹

Saenger indicated that he was able to contact proportionately fewer of the refusers and notes that the differences might have been more pronounced had he been able to contact more of them, hypothesizing that the parents who could not be contacted² probably tended to be of lower status and highly mobile spatially. On the other hand, 19 of 33 "refuser" parents he did contact said they were unaware that their children had had an opportunity to transfer. As Saenger indicates, it may be that these children failed to deliver the slips sent home by the schools to explain the program,³ or the parents may not have read them! Perhaps the "refusal" of the less educated parents was a function of their never having read the notice.

Weinstein and Geisel interviewed 88 Negro families eligible to send their children to desegregated schools in Nashville, where the first three grades were already desegregated under the grade-a-year plan.⁴ Of these 88 families, 50 included children in segregated schools; the children in the other 38 families had attended or were attending desegregated schools. They found that the decision to send a child to a desegregated school was significantly related to mother's education (.32 point-biserial correlation) and father's occupation (.28 point-biserial correlation).⁵ On the other hand, the reason reported most frequently by parents for transferring children was the proximity of the desegregated school, and the reason stated most frequently for not transferring children was the presence of an ineligible older child in the household. On the basis of their total study, however, Weinstein and Geisel concluded that neither proximity of the school nor ordinal position of the child,⁶ neither mother's education nor

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Ibid., pp. 20-21.

³Ibid., p. 22.

⁴Eugene A. Weinstein and Paul N. Geisel, "Family Decision Making Over Desegregation," Sociometry, 25 (March, 1962), pp. 21-29.

⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁶Ibid., p. 25.

father's occupation were the critical variables in the decision. They suggest that alienation, as¹ measured by the Srole scale, was the single most decisive factor.

The final study of the three was conducted in New Rochelle by Luchterhand and Weller.² These researchers obtained interviews with 169 parents who, by court order, were given an opportunity to transfer their children from a segregated elementary school to non-segregated schools. Using Hollingshead's two-factor index of social position and mother's education as indices of social status, Luchterhand and Weller found an inverse relationship between social status and the decision to transfer children. They attribute this to prolonged and intense debate within the community, which had transformed the issue of erecting a new school in the middle of the ghetto into a broader one of segregation and denial of opportunity. Under these conditions, in their view, the Class V's (based on Hollingshead) saw school desegregation as a chance to decrease their powerlessness, while the Class IV's, having a somewhat better position, were hesitant to risk it.³ Ideological divisions within the Negro community may also have been at work. In any case, however, (despite the Hollingshead class ratings) the demographic data suggest that an atypical Negro population was involved. Fifty-eight per cent of the mothers in the population are reported to have completed at least high school,⁴ and there were only a few fatherless families.⁵ As a result, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these findings that would be relevant to the current study.

The analysis reported below, which involved another predominantly Negro group of parents, is intended to extend our knowledge in this general area by comparing the social characteristics of those who accepted and those who declined a school integration option for their children.

¹Ibid., p. 27.

²Elmer Luchterhand and Leonard Weller, "Social Class and the Desegregation Movement: A Study of Parents' Decisions in a Negro Ghetto," Social Problems, 13 (Summer, 1965), pp. 83-88.

³Ibid., pp. 86-88.

⁴Ibid., Table 1, p. 86.

⁵Luchterhand and Weller, op. cit., p. 85.

The Setting

The current study is focused on one aspect of a larger program to counter de facto school segregation in a medium-sized northern city with a Negro population of about five per cent. In the situation with which we are concerned, the Board of Education proposed to bus about sixty first, second, and third graders on a voluntary basis from a large, overcrowded, predominantly lower class Negro elementary school to an elementary school located in a predominantly white, middle class neighborhood. This program was to begin in the Fall of 1964.

Early in June, letters explaining the busing program were sent to the parents of a random sample of 83 children (providing for 25 alternates) from the grades to be involved. Shortly thereafter, the school district's visiting teachers were asked to contact the parents personally to solicit their consent. It soon became evident that a large minority of the parents on the list had moved out of the district, planned to move, or declined to have their children transferred. Of the 76 cases where the parents were contacted and expected to be living in the school district at the time school started,¹ the parents of 54 children (71 per cent) accepted the program.

That only 54 children were available for busing from the June interviewing presented some problems. The original quota was not met (to say nothing about alternates), some of the families who had volunteered were expected to move during the summer, and the design of research being conducted on the program called for a large number of alternates as a control group. To meet these needs, another random sample of children was drawn in August, 1964. Letters explaining the program were again sent to the parents, but the interviewing was undertaken this time by volunteers, mostly parents, from the "receiving" school. Of the 164 cases where parents were contacted and did not plan to move, the parents of 88

¹We have reported only those figures which we are reasonably sure are accurate. We were faced with two problems fairly common in research of this nature. First, the normally high transiency of low income Negro neighborhoods was increased by the urban renewal program. Second, we had only minimal access to the administration of the selection process, the bulk of this work having been carried out by the Board of Education.

children (54 per cent) accepted the busing program. A possible implication of the difference in the interviewers and acceptance rates for these two phases is suggested below.

Method

The findings presented here are based on a survey of parents who accepted and declined the busing program and a matched group of parents from the receiving school. The main purpose of the survey was to ascertain reactions of parents to the desegregation process following completion of the first school year during which their children were bused. Interviewing was conducted in the summer of 1965. Besides the basic descriptive and aspirational data presented here, information to be reported later was collected on maternal evaluations of the children's adjustment, contact with schools, attitudes toward school integration, and attitudes toward busing.

High mobility rates and other factors made it difficult to contact many of the parents, but interviews were completed with the mothers of 52 of the 59 bused children (88 per cent completion rate) and 47 of 54 children who were not transferred because their parents declined the offer (87 per cent completion rate).² The majority of losses resulted from families having moved during or immediately after the school year (6 of the "transfer" families, 4 of the "non-transfer" families), the remainder being lost for a variety of reasons. Other families had moved as well, but tracing procedures resulted in the high completion rates.

Since this report is primarily concerned with family char-

¹The interviewers in both "waves" of the interviewing were asked to query the parents about their reasons for refusal. The overwhelming majority of the refusers mentioned that they did not want to separate their children, a situation comparable to that reported by Weinstein and Geisel, op. cit., p. 25.

²Since they are not of concern here, the matched cases of children in the receiving school are excluded from discussion. Had there been time, interviews would have been conducted with parents of children where the program was accepted but the children were not bused. As it was, the researchers did not wish to interview once school re-opened, this group of parents had been given the lowest interviewing priority, and time did not permit them to be included.

acteristics, the base for the demographic data is typically the number of families rather than the number of children. Three families contained both transferred and non-transferred children. Since these cases could neither be classified in either category above, nor dealt with separately in a meaningful way, they were dropped from the analysis. Excluding these families, forty-four families with bused children and forty-one families where the children were not bused are represented in the analysis.

Of the forty-four families with bused children, thirty-three had been contacted and had agreed to the transfer in June and the other eleven had been contacted in August when the "shortage" became apparent. Of the forty-one non-transfer or "refuser" families, however, all but two had been contacted in August. This introduced the possibility that the data reflected differences between the two interviewing situations, since the visiting teachers and the parent volunteers could have been differentially successful in contacting and obtaining consent from certain kinds of parents. In an attempt to evaluate possible bias, the "acceptors" were broken down into June and August interviewees and compared with the refusers. With one exception, to be noted in the next section, the findings were not affected. For our purposes, the acceptors may be considered to be all of one type.

Findings

Selected characteristics of the two groups of parents are summarized in Table 9.1. Although there are valid reasons for expecting differences on several of these objective measures, even within a relatively homogeneous population, the results suggest that the acceptors and refusers are roughly comparable. Especially pertinent in this regard are the social status indicators, which, on the whole, show virtually no differences. As with the results obtained by Luchterhand and Weller, this runs contrary to common assumptions.

Among the acceptors 73 per cent of the June interviewees and 91 per cent of the August interviewees (10 of 11) were born in the South. Seventy per cent of the June acceptors and 82 per cent of the August acceptors came directly from the South to the city involved, the others having resided in non-southern communities in the interim. This begins to suggest, although only tentatively, that southern-born and southern-oriented lower class Negroes are somewhat more likely to accept busing programs when contacted by white, middle class parents from potential receiving schools than when contacted by school officials.

Table 9.1

Selected Characteristics of Women Who Accepted
or Refused the Busing Program for Their
Children^a

Characteristics	Acceptors	Refusers
<u>Social Status Indicators:</u>		
Median Annual Family Income	\$4,599. (42) ^b	\$4,399. (40)
Percentage of Fathers Whose Occupation Is Blue-Collar ^c	88.5 (26) ^d	96.0 (25) ^d
Percentage of Fathers Who Did Not Graduate from High School	84.0 (25) ^d	79.2 (24) ^d
Percentage of Mothers Who Did Not Graduate from High School	86.4 (44)	87.5 (40)
<u>Residence:</u>		
Mean Years Residence in This City	14.34 (44)	15.78 (40)
Mean Years Residence Present Address	3.49 (43)	3.28 (40)
Percentage Whose Residence Previous to Centerline Was in the South ^e	72.7 (44)	52.5 (40)
Percentage Born in the South ^e	77.3 (44)	67.5 (40)
<u>Family Status:</u>		
Percentage of Women Who Are Presently Married	61.4 (44)	61.5 (39) ^f
Percentage of Families Where the Study Child Is Living with His Mother	97.7 (44)	92.7 (41)

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

Mean Number of Children in the Household	5.32 (44)	5.22 (41)
Mean Number of Children in the Sending School, 1963-64	2.98 (44)	2.93 (41)
<u>Source of Income:</u>		
Percentage of Women Working	20.9 (43)	28.2 (39)f
Percentage Receiving Some Aid to Families with Dependent Children and/or Welfare Payments	52.4 (42)	45.0 (40)
<u>Other:</u>		
Mean Age of the Women	32.0 (44)	32.63 (40)
Percentage Non-White	90.9 (44)	85.4 (41)

^aThe distributions of other variable not reported here, e.g., size of household political orientation, and religion, are remarkable in their similarity.

^bThe numbers in parentheses are the bases on which the corresponding summary measures are computed. Only cases for which information is available are included in each base.

^cFor those fathers who are not currently employed, their last job is coded. For purposes of this analysis, the following census categories are considered "blue collar": craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; operatives and kindred workers; private household workers; service workers, except private households; and laborers, except farm and mine. One of the "non-blue-collar" cases is classified as "clerical and kindred workers," and the remainder are classified as "farmers and farm managers" or "farm laborers and foremen."

^dExcluded from these bases are families from which the father is absent: 17 of the "acceptor" families and 15 of the "refuser" families.

^eAs used here, the "South" comprises the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central Census Regions. Actually,

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama are predominant in these distributions.

^f A housekeeper who is married outside the household is excluded from these bases.

There also seemed to be a slight positive relationship between having a southern background and accepting the busing program in general, since 77 per cent of the acceptors and 68 per cent of the refusers were born in the South, and 73 per cent of the acceptors and only 53 per cent of the refusers had come directly to the city involved from the South. Thus, even though the acceptors and the refusers had resided in this particular city for approximately the same length of time (Table 9.1), the refusers were more likely to have resided in other non-southern communities first. It can be concluded, therefore, that they have, on the average, been living away from the South for a longer period of time.

Given the apparent relationship between acceptance of the program and having come directly and more recently from the South, it may be that those who accepted the program (1) have fresher memories of their southern experiences and (2) are more naive about the power structure maintaining segregation in northern communities in general. For these reasons, they may be more favorably inclined toward school desegregation. It may be also that the acceptors, due to their more recent contact with the South, were initially less likely to be accepted by the city's Negro community and, therefore, do not identify strongly with that community. What is being suggested is that, like inmates of "total institutions," people who are relegated to the bottom of the "social heap" find other ways to make status distinctions among themselves. In this case, it may be that Negroes distinguish between "northern" and "southern" Negroes, looking down on the latter. This possibility cannot be tested with the available data, however, since only gross residential history measures and no "subjective" status indicators are available. One should also bear in mind that majorities of both the acceptors and the refusers came originally from the South.

It was anticipated that such factors as number of children in the household or number of children attending the sending school would be good predictors of the decision to have children bused. Given the kind of population with which we were concerned, it seemed likely that parents with more children would find it more difficult to prepare them for school in the morning and to keep in contact with the schools, would be less able to afford the clothing they might perceive as suitable at the receiving schools, and the like. In addition, many of the parents indicated that they did not want their children separated as they might be if some children were transferred and the others were not. However, as shown in Table 9.1, both the acceptors and the refusers had about the same number of children in the household and about the same number attending the sending school during the school year

preceding the beginning of the busing program.

In considering the busing program, parents could have been influenced not only by the number of children they had, but also by the ordinal position of those children most directly affected by the program. It may be quite different to bus an only child, the youngest of four, or the oldest of four. This line of reasoning underlies the conceptualization of ordinal position presented in Table 9.2. To develop this measure, it was first ascertained how many of the children in each family were of primary school age and/or otherwise eligible to attend the sending school during the "policy" year. Within this pool of eligible siblings we determined the ordinal position of each child included in the study (or "study child"). Since there are no discernable patterns among families with more than one study child and since they confound the purity of the measure, they are not included in Table 9.2. It can be seen that the "average" (modal) study child among both acceptors and refusers was the middle child of three or more children (45 per cent of each group). Whatever differences there are between acceptors and refusers appear among only a small minority of the families, and we can only conclude, as do Weinstein and Geisel,¹ that ordinal position did not account for the decision.

Our original hypothesis was that the acceptors would tend to be of higher social status and have higher educational aspirations for their children than the refusers. The findings of virtually no difference in social status suggest that the educational aspirations of acceptors and refusers may also be similar. However, the data were collected during the summer following the policy year and may reflect changes that occurred during the year. While it seems fairly safe to assume that the social status of our respondents did not change radically during that period, the acceptors' aspirations may have changed as a result of their experiences in the receiving school. The acceptors and the refusers may have been comparable in their aspirations before the busing began, for example, but contact with middle class whites could have raised the aspirations of those whose children were bused. Or, it could be that contact with whites revealed to the acceptors how much their children had to overcome and led them to lower their aspirations. These and other possibilities are confounded because the data were collected after the policy year. On the other hand, given the evidence in the literature on the relationship between status and aspirations, the lack of a difference between acceptors and refusers

¹Weinstein and Geisel, op. cit., p. 25.

Table 9.2

Ordinal Position of Study Child* Among "Potential"
1964-65 Sending School Siblings, By Busing Decision of Parents
(Families with Only One Study Child)

Ordinal Position of Study Child	Acceptors		Refusers	
	N	%	N	%
Only Child	8	20.0	4	10.5
Youngest of Two Children	2	5.0	7	18.4
Oldest of Two Children	5	12.5	4	10.5
Youngest of Three or More Children	5	12.5	5	13.2
Middle of Three or More Children	18	45.0	17	44.7
Oldest of Three or More Children	2	5.0	1	2.6
Totals	40	100.0	38	99.9

*"Study child" refers to the child selected for busing. Only families with one study child are tabulated here.

could be a function of their comparable social status. In other words, finding no difference between acceptors and refusers on educational aspirations would tend to reinforce the findings reported above.

Responses to three items related to aspirations are summarized in Table 9.3. It is apparent that refusers and acceptors tend to agree that, under ideal conditions, they would like the child to have more than a high school education (83 per cent and 85 per cent of the children, respectively). On the other hand, there is less agreement among the respondents that more than a high school education is necessary to earn what they consider to be a "decent living," even though there is little difference between acceptors and refusers in this regard (44 per cent vs. 51 per cent, respectively). What is surprising, however, is that the acceptors are less likely than the refusers to expect the study child to finish more than a high school education (24 per cent vs. 43 per cent, respectively).

These data suggest that the apparent similarity between acceptors and refusers as to social status is reflected in their appraisal of the education necessary "to make a decent living" and "ideal" standards, but that a minority of the acceptors may well have lowered their expectations for their children after contact with the higher achieving and more academically competitive setting represented by the predominantly middle class school. Alternatively, the difference in expectations may reflect the acceptors' generally more recent experience with life in the South or lower expectations based on relatively greater dissatisfaction with conditions at their children's former school. Evidence on the latter point will be reported at a later date, but early indications are that the acceptors tended to voice greater disapproval of the old school. Of course, how realistic the various expectations are is a different question.

Discussion

Our data indicate that information about the occupation, education, and income of Negro parents does not allow one to predict accurately whether they will accept an opportunity for integrated education for their children. The similarity between acceptors and refusers as to educational aspirations (but less so for expectations) lends some measure of validity to this conclusion. Even though education may be seen as an avenue of mobility by many Negroes, the low status Negroes included in the current study do not seem to view desegregated education as a sufficiently more suitable avenue than segregated education to be worth the "price"

Table 9.3

Educational Aspirations, Expectations, and Opinions about
Education Required, by Busing Decision

Aspirational Items*	Acceptors	Refusers
Study child(ren) needs more than a high school education to make a decent living	44.3% (52)**	51.0% (47)
Would like study child(ren) to finish more than a high school education	84.6% (52)	82.6% (46)
Expect study child(ren) to finish more than a high school education	23.5% (51)	42.6% (47)

* These items are based on the following questions:

Now I'd like to talk over with you some of your ideas about _____ (child's) future. First, about how much education do you think _____ (child) needs to make a decent living?

If you had your own way, how far in school would you like _____ (child) to go?

What is the highest level of education you expect _____ (child) to finish?

** The numbers in parentheses are the bases on which the percentages are computed. Except for those cases where the response was indeterminate or where there was no answer, all study children are included in the bases.

of inconvenience, "status risk" or whatever.¹ Of course, objective social status indicators may be predictive of acceptance of other kinds of desegregation programs, parents who declined this program might have accepted for children of junior high school age, and the like.

Comparability among all the studies we have considered is confounded by differences in sampling and measurement and by variations in community climate, social composition of the Negro community, etc. Even where social status has been found to be significantly related to the decision to desegregate, however, the magnitude of the relationship is not sufficient to permit accurate prediction. The point biserial correlations between social status indicators and the decision to desegregate in Weinstein and Geisel's study ranged from .28 to .32,² accounting for eight to ten per cent of the variance, respectively. In the same vein, when theta is computed for Luchterhand and Weller's data,³ only 20 to 23 per cent of the variance in the decision to desegregate is accounted for by their indicators of social status. Taken singly, then, these objective measures of social status account for little of the decision, so it is not surprising to find other factors overpowering and obscuring their effects. What these other factors are, of course, is the crucial question.

Research of this nature is hampered by the relative homogeneity within Negro communities with respect to social status indicators which are generally applied to much more comprehensive collectivities, e.g., American society. It may be that ethnic minorities cannot be ranked according to this overall status scale alone and that additional dimensions must be considered as well.

¹When this paper was presented, Robert Dentler and Raymond Mack suggested that there may be a curvilinear relationship between social status and acceptance of school integration, with high and low status Negroes being more likely than those of intermediate status to accept. This possibility should be investigated but, unfortunately, the current study does not include a wide enough social status range to permit such an analysis.

²Weinstein and Geisel, op. cit., p. 23.

³Luchterhand and Weller, op. cit., Table 1, p. 86. Theta, or the coefficient of differentiation, is Freeman's extension of the Wilcoxon signed-ranks test. See Linton C. Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), Ch. 10.

Status distinctions internal to the Negro community, those that Negroes make among themselves, need to be included to complete the picture. For example, is there, as we have suggested, a differentiation between "northern" and "southern" Negroes? To assume that any Negro community in particular or such communities in general are homogeneous is to overlook significant variations within and among them. Judging from the findings of Luchterhand and Weller, for instance, the Negro population in New Rochelle is unlike most others in terms of social status. Their study also raises questions about the relationship of these communities to larger collectivities of which they are a part.

If there are status distinctions internal to a given Negro community, as seems apparent, what relationship do they have to identification with and/or alienation from that community? Weinstein and Geisel submit, for instance, that alienation as measured by the Srole scale is a much better predictor of the decision not to desegregate than are social status measures.¹ Which Negroes are alienated from their own ethnic group, the white community, or society as a whole? If they are alienated from society, are they that much more attached to the Negro community? It could be, for example, that the alienation of the Black Muslims from American society is very much related to their identification with a separatist nation. In their study in Philadelphia, Parker and Kleiner found that higher status Negroes had weaker identification with their own ethnic group.² Does this subject them to cross-pressures from the sometimes conflicting vested interests of whites and Negroes?³ Could the simultaneous influence of such cross-pressures help to account for the lack of consistency among Negro communities reflected in studies of decisions to desegregate? In other words, alienation and ethnic identification patterns within such communities are closely related phenomena and may account for disparities among the studies.

As with the other studies cited, the results reported here do

¹Weinstein and Geisel, op. cit., p. 27.

²Parker and Kleiner, op. cit.

³The classic study of cross-pressures in voting behavior is Paul Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1948).

not account for the decision of Negro parents to send or not to send their children to desegregated schools. Overall, the parents who accepted and declined the busing program are remarkably similar on a wide gamut of characteristics. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to investigate some of our post hoc hypotheses further, but it was thought that results so contrary to theoretical assumptions needed reporting. Future work in this area directed toward the respondent's subjective frames of reference is needed.

One other issue of methodological, as well as policy-relevant, import is raised by these studies. Saenger reports that only about one in fourteen of those eligible accepted the program after letters offering it were sent to them.¹ Weinstein and Geisel do not give information dealing with acceptance rates relative to a population, but Luchterhand and Weller report that under conditions of a court order allowing for voluntary transfer, 55 per cent of eligible children were transferred.² They do not report how, if at all, the families concerned were contacted. In the current study, when contacted by mail and visiting teachers, the parents of 71 per cent of the eligible children accepted the program. When contacted by mail and receiving school parents, the parents of 54 per cent of eligible children accepted the program. While it would be extremely difficult to trace the processes underlying these acceptance rates, further studies could well concern themselves with what kinds of people are contacted, what kinds of contacts lead to what levels of acceptance of desegregation programs, and what effects these various kinds of contacts may have on the outcome of research dealing with these phenomena.

¹Saenger, op. cit., p. 19.

²Luchterhand and Weller, op. cit., p. 84.

Chapter Ten

Perceptions of Sending and Host Elementary Schools

"Middle class" agencies, such as the public schools, have developed and implemented a variety of programs designed to benefit the poor. It has been amply documented, however, that such efforts are often rejected by their intended beneficiaries as patronizing and foreign to their own needs and interests. In his pioneering study of "street corner society," William F. Whyte relates how the settlement house in the slums was able to attract and affect only certain kinds of slum dwellers, namely, mobility-oriented adolescents. Other adolescents "took" the settlement house, using it in the service of their own values.¹ Herbert Gans later found the same lack of support for what were perceived to be middle class institutions in the West End of Boston.² Apparently, the ways slum dwellers perceive various institutions and programs made available to them greatly influence their mode and extent of participation.

Despite the equalitarian ideal underlying the educational system in the United States, it appears that the working and lower classes perceive the public schools as somewhat alien and as run by and for the middle class.³ On the basis of a survey of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, a slum area, Richard A. Cloward and James A. Jones make a pertinent observation. Among parents with children in the public schools, 34 per cent of lower class parents, 16 per cent of working class parents, and 18 per cent of parents in the lower middle class or above subscribed to the statement that "the schools don't pay much attention to kids

¹William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society, second ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), esp. pp. 98-104.

²Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), esp. ch. vi.

³Richard A. Cloward and James A. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation," in A. Harry Passow, ed., Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 190-216; James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 58-68; August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949), pp. 142-147.

from poor families."¹ Such evidence as this has prompted Frank Riessman, among others, to propose remedies for "middle class schools" which are not coping effectively with lower class populations.²

Many northern cities have introduced busing programs in recent years as part of the effort to overcome de facto school segregation. In view of the findings reviewed above, it is relevant to ask whether these programs will founder on the same basis as have other programs planned to help the disadvantaged. It is plausible to argue that the success or failure of a particular busing program will be partially a function of how the participants perceive the schools affected. This premise is the basis for the current investigation of parental perceptions of a "sending" school and a "host" school involved in a busing program in a medium-sized, northern city. The results are based on a survey of parents from a Negro ghetto who accepted or declined the busing program and a matched sample of parents from the host school.

Method³

The present investigation was undertaken in a medium-sized, northern, industrial city. Negroes comprise over 5 per cent of the total population, which exceeds 200,000. Most of the Negroes live in a ghetto bordering on the business district. This residential pattern, typical of many northern cities, resulted in de facto school segregation, an issue which first came to public attention in the Spring of 1962 in connection with a proposed school boundary adjustment. Pressure groups representing a variety of points of view emerged as a result, and a period of community ferment ensued. Early in 1964, the Board of Education decided to reassign several hundred pupils the following fall to help alleviate racial imbalance and overcrowding in several

¹Cloward and Jones, op. cit., Table 12B., p. 208.

²Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Bros., 1962).

³Parts of this section are condensed from the preceding paper.

schools. Included in the over-all plan was the busing of about sixty first, second, and third graders on a voluntary basis from a large, overcrowded, predominantly lower class Negro elementary school to an elementary school located in a predominantly white, middle class neighborhood.

In order to assess parental reactions to the busing program, a survey was undertaken after the first year. Interviewing was conducted in the summer of 1965. Three categories of parents were interviewed: parents of children who were bused, parents who had declined the offer to have their children bused, and a group of parents from the "host" school. The third group was matched with the first in that each child who was bused was paired with a "host" child in the same classroom and of the same sex.

High mobility rates and other factors made it difficult to contact many of the parents, but interviews were completed with the mothers of 52 of 59 bused children (88 per cent) and 47 of 54 children who were not bused because their parents declined the offer (87 per cent). The majority of losses resulted from families having moved during or immediately after the first year of the program (six of the "transfer" families and four of the "non-transfer" families), the remainder having been lost for a variety of reasons. The completion rate for the parents of matched host children was much lower, however. Since matching was undertaken relative to completed interviews with parents of bused children, only 52 cases should have been involved in matching. Of these 52 cases, the parents of only 33 children (63 per cent) were interviewed. Ten of the losses were attributable to matching problems, seven families either had moved out of town or had moved and could not be located (four of those families, incidentally, were those of university students), and the other two losses were due to other factors. In part, this relatively low completion rate reflects an inherent limitation of matching as a research design. While it may tend to inhibit generalization, there is no reason to believe that parents actually interviewed are atypical among parents from the host school. It should also be noted that parental interviews were, in every case, conducted with mothers or mother-surrogates.

Characteristics of the Parents

Contrary to common assumptions, the parents who accepted the

busing program and those who refused are similar on a gamut of characteristics.¹ For the most part, they are lower- or working-class Negroes with other characteristics usually associated with that status, such as large families. The acceptors had a median annual income of \$4599., while the refusers had a median annual income of \$4399. Reflecting this tenuous economic position, 52.4 per cent of the former and 45.0 per cent of the latter were receiving some AFDC and/or welfare assistance. Both those children who were bused and those who were not lived in households containing an average of about five children. While both sets of parents had lived in this city about the same amount of time (a mean of 14.34 years for the transfer families and 15.78 years for the nontransfer families), the acceptors were somewhat more likely than the refusers to have come directly from the South (72.7 per cent vs. 52.5 per cent, respectively).

The contrasts between the parents in the ghetto and the parents in the host school area, on the other hand, are obvious and stark. The median annual income for host parents is \$10,000, with 50 per cent of the fathers holding professional or technical positions. Several of these fathers are university professors. None of the host families were receiving AFDC and/or welfare assistance, and there was an average of about three children per household. While these families had lived in the city about the same length of time (mean of 14.56 years) as had the parents in the ghetto, only 6.3 per cent of the host parents had lived in the South immediately preceding their arrival.

The dissimilarity between the parents living in the ghetto and the parents living in the host school area is further highlighted by their educational aspirations for their children. Without exception, the host parents felt that their children needed more than a high school education to "make a decent living," that they preferred education beyond high school for their children, and that they fully expected the children to attain more than a high school education.² The parents of only

¹For a more detailed description of these similarities between parents of transferred and nontransferred children, see the preceding paper.

²Parental aspirations were ascertained for each child included in the study. Since some families contained more than one "study child," the percentages are based on the number of children and not the number of parents.

47.6 per cent of the children from the ghetto, on the other hand, felt that more than a high school education was needed. They were quite similar to the host parents in stating that they would like their children to have more than a high school education (83.7 per cent), but the parents of only 23.5 per cent of the transfer children and 42.6 per cent of the nontransfer children expected that their children would attain such a level.¹ Clearly, while the parents are similar in their preferences, it appears that the host parents are more likely to feel that such preferences are realistic.

Findings

The parents were queried about their perceptions of the ghetto school and the host school. In particular, they were asked to rate the schools on four dimensions: (1) how much the children seem to be learning; (2) how much interest most parents show in the school; (3) how well the children behave; and (4) how much interest the teachers show in their pupils. Respondents were prompted to make general evaluations in these areas rather than to relate how a particular child was affected. Interviewing experience revealed that, for the most part, the parents were able to make the general evaluations being sought.

Several qualifications are in order. First, the questions asked pertain to the specific dimensions listed above. While many parents did volunteer additional comments, no systematic attempt was made to ascertain their overall feelings about the schools. Second, since the questions were asked only after the first year of the program, no pretest was available as a baseline for comparison. This is particularly crucial with respect to the parents of bused children, who had had experience with both schools. Confounding variables are involved as well, since feelings about race and desegregation may have influenced school perceptions. It should also be noted that the experiences of the three groups of parents with respect to the schools involved are not really comparable. Therefore, each group of parents is analyzed in its own right, and the only comparisons among them reported are those

¹Possible interpretations of this difference have been discussed above.

which are meaningful given the research design.

Parents of Bused Children:

There is a complex relationship between perceptions of the sending and host schools for parents of bused children. As has been implied above, the results reported here should not be considered indicative of perceptions of the schools before the busing program began. On the contrary, given the salience of the situation, there is every reason to believe that how the parents felt about either or both of the two schools could have been fundamentally changed by their experience with the busing program.

A large majority of these parents rates the sending school as average or above average on three of the four dimensions (See Table 10.1). Their rating of the children's behavior there is the one exception, in that 50 per cent feel that the children's behavior at the sending school is below average. The fact that 21 per cent state that they "don't know" about parental interest at the sending school does not distinguish them from parents who did not agree to have their children transferred, since (as is shown in Table 10.3), 15 per cent of the latter group gave the same response. To illuminate parental feelings about the results of the busing program, however, we must also consider how the parents of the bused children feel about the host school.

As is shown in Table 10.2, the overwhelming majority of these parents (among those who express an opinion) rates the host school as above average on all four dimensions, and none rates it below average. A large minority, however, 43 per cent, replied "don't know" when asked about parental interest there. This is probably a reflection of the fact that 71 per cent of these parents had not attended even one meeting of a parents' organization, such as the PTA, at the host school. This compares with 22 per cent of the host parents who had not had this kind of formal contact with other parents at the school during the preceding year. In addition, informal contacts with other host school neighborhood parents were much more available to these parents than to the parents of bused children because of the physical and social distance involved for the latter group. Overall, however, the parents of bused children rate the host school higher than the sending school, no matter what the dimension. Particularly striking is their perception of the children's behavior at the sending school. Judging from these data, the parents of children who were bused appear to have seen the busing experience as

Table 10.1

Perceptions of the Sending School
by Mothers of Bused Children

<u>Rating of:</u>	<u>Rating:</u> ^a				<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Above</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Below</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Children's Learning	41.0%	40.9	11.4	6.8	100.1	44 ^b
Parental Interest	31.8	38.6	9.1	20.5	100.0	44
Children's Behavior	9.1	36.4	50.0	4.6	100.1	44
Teachers' Interest	47.8	29.6	15.9	6.8	100.1	44

a. The original ratings have been collapsed as follows: "Above average" is a combination of "excellent" and "good"; Average is the same as the original rating; and "Below average" is a combination of "poor" and "very poor."

b. Since the distributions for the matched cases and the total group of parents of bused children are similar, we have reported the figures for the total group.

Table 10.2

Perceptions of the Host School
by Mothers of Bused Children

<u>Rating of:</u>	<u>Rating:</u> ^a				<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Above</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Below</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Children's Learning	81.8%	4.6	0.0	13.6	100.0	44 ^b
Parental Interest	52.3	4.6	0.0	43.2	100.1	44
Children's Behavior	86.4	2.3	0.0	11.4	100.1	44
Teachers' Interest	91.0	2.3	0.0	6.8	100.1	44

a. The original ratings have been collapsed as follows: "Above average" is a combination of "excellent" and "good"; Average is the same as the original rating; and "Below average" is a combination of "poor" and "very poor."

b. Since the distributions for the matched cases and the total group of parents of bused children are similar, we have reported the figures for the total group.

Table 10.3

Perceptions of the Sending School
by Mothers of Nontransferred Children

<u>Rating of:</u>	<u>Rating:</u> ^a				<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Above</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Below</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Children's Learning	58.6%	24.4	9.7	7.3	100.0	41
Parental Interest	48.8	19.5	17.1	14.6	100.0	41
Children's Behavior	31.7	39.0	24.4	4.9	100.0	41
Teachers' Interest	75.6	14.6	0.0	9.8	100.0	41

a. The original ratings have been collapsed as follows: "Above average" is a combination of "excellent" and "good"; Average is the same as the original rating; and "Below average" is a combination of "poor" and "very poor."

a beneficial one, at least as far as the formal educational aspects are concerned.

Parents of Nontransferred Children:

A comparison of Tables 10.1 and 10.3 suggests that parents who declined to have their children bused tend to rate the sending school higher than do the parents of bused children. This is particularly true with respect to the children's behavior and the teachers' interest in the children, differences between the two sets of parents on these dimensions being statistically significant.¹ Even so, it is interesting to note that 24 per cent of the parents of nontransferred children rate the children's behavior at the sending school as below average. Many of the comments volunteered by ghetto parents (from both groups) indicated that they felt that there were discipline problems at the sending school, problems which some attributed to the teachers.

Perceptions of the host school by these parents are easily summarized: 93 per cent said that they did not know about the host school on any of the four dimensions. The three parents who did venture ratings of the host school classified it as above average. Despite the limitations of the research design, it would seem that this group of parents is unlikely to have changed from having an opinion to not having one over the course of a year during which some of their children's contemporaries were bused. The data refer, of course, only to the four dimensions specified, but it

¹In testing the comparisons between the parents of bused children and the parents of nontransferred children on the four dimensions, the ratings were categorized into above average vs. average or below average, with the don't know responses excluded. X^2 with Yates' correction was used. For children's behavior, $df=1$, $X^2=5.55$, $p<.05$; for teachers' interest, $df=1$, $X^2=7.87$, $p<.05$. Comparisons between parents of bused children and host parents could not be tested because of small expected frequencies. However, when parents of bused children were categorized as to whether they rated the host school higher or lower than the sending school, tests using the binomial distribution revealed that they rated the host school higher on all four dimensions with $p<.05$.

hardly seems likely that these parents decided not to bus their children on the basis of a knowledge of the formal educational aspects of the host school.

Host School Parents:

If one can assume a greater sense of awareness of various social institutions on the part of the middle class, it would be expected that the host parents know (or feel they know) more about the sending school than the sending school parents know about the host school. But this is only relatively so, since the percentage of "don't know" responses for the host parents ranged from a low of 66 per cent with reference to the children's behavior at the sending school to a high of 78 per cent with reference to parental interest there. Of those who did venture ratings, six of ten rated the children's learning at the sending school as below average, five of seven rated parental interest there as below average, 10 of 11 rated the children's behavior as below average, and six out of ten rated the teachers' interest as above average. The latter two dimensions stand out, children's behavior because it is rated low by such a high proportion of those who ventured an opinion, and teachers' interest because it is the only dimension on which the sending school is rated above average by a majority of the host parents making a rating. Overall, however, host parents do not appear to feel that they know very much about the sending school.

Two disparities among the perceptions of the host school by parents of bused children (Table 10.2) and host parents (Table 10.4) stand out. One, the substantial minority of parents of bused children who do not know about parental interest at the host school, has already been mentioned. In addition, the parents of bused children are more likely than the host parents to rate the children's behavior at the host school as above average (86 per cent and 66 per cent, respectively). On the other two dimensions, the two sets of parents are roughly comparable in their assessments of the host school. The comparison of Tables 10.2 and 10.4 highlights further the generally favorable reactions of the parents of bused children to the host school as a setting for formal education.

Discussion

It has been shown that the parents of the bused children per-

Table 10.4
Perceptions of the Host School
by Host Mothers

<u>Rating of:</u>	<u>Rating:</u> ^a				<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Above</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Below</u> <u>average</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Children's Learning	81.3%	9.4	6.3	3.1	100.1	32
Parental Interest	62.5	21.9	3.1	12.5	100.0	32
Children's Behavior	65.6	25.0	3.1	6.3	100.0	32
Teachers' Interest	80.7	6.5	3.2	9.7	100.1	31 ^b

a. The original ratings have been collapsed as follows: "Above average" is a combination of "excellent" and "good"; Average is the same as the original rating; and "Below average" is a combination of "poor" and "very poor."

b. One response was indeterminate, so it is not included in this distribution.

ceived the host school favorably following the first year of the program. There is no reason to believe that they had any knowledge or opinion about the host school before the busing began, and there is some reason to believe that they did not, in view of the relative lack of knowledge of the host school reported by the parents of children who were not transferred. On the other hand, having knowledge (or supposed knowledge) of the host school could have been a basic determinant of parental decisions to accept the busing opportunity. The design of the present study does not permit this question to be answered. In view of the above reported uncertainty about the determinants of this decision and the similarity between the groups in demographic characteristics and educational aspirations and expectations, however, it is worthy of study. In any case, parents of the bused children seem clearly to have been pleased with this particular integration experience.

The difference in their perceptions of children's learning at the two schools is relative, however; 82 per cent of the parents of bused children feel that the children's learning at the sending school is average or better. This suggests another possibility: that the parents who chose busing did so because they sought to support movement toward racial desegregation. If so, they appear not to have been disappointed. Those who rejected the opportunity may have been less concerned about segregation per se and/or preferred a known school to a more physically distant, unknown, perhaps alien and frightening one. Or were they reflecting a general sentiment in the neighborhood that other parents were afraid to voice to the unknown "solicitors"? Perhaps both groups regarded the issue as a minor one and decided without being aware of their reasons. Again, the present study suggests such questions but cannot answer them.

"How well the children behave" at these two schools appears to be a crucial phenomenon to the parents of bused children. Substantial minorities of host parents and parents of nontransferred children agree with the parents of bused children that the children's behavior at the sending school is below average. There is evidence that such perceptions are in accord with the actual state of affairs in ghetto schools. For example, "... study of a deprived-area school indicated that as much as 80 per cent of the school day was devoted to discipline or organizational detail; even with the best teachers this figure never fell below 50 per cent."¹

¹Martin P. Deutsch, Minority Group and Class Status as Re-

The parents of bused pupils tended to rate behavior at the host school higher than did the host parents, perhaps due to prestige factors and/or to their contrasting experience at the ghetto school the year before, an experience which the host parents had not shared.

One cannot infer from this, however, that parents see such behavioral deficiencies as inhibiting their children's learning, since most of the parents of bused children perceived the sending school as average or better in terms of the learning experience. Maybe lower class Negroes, like working class whites, are particularly likely to value obedience in their children¹ and, in this case at least, perceived the host school as more effective than the sending school as an adjunct of parents in inculcating this value. It might also be, however, that parents of bused children changed their standards for the evaluation of schools and children's behavior as a result of their experience with the host school. Perhaps some felt that they had to downgrade the sending school to justify their own decisions to have their children bused. Responses (and perceptions) of parents who declined the busing opportunity could also have been distorted in self-justification.

In the situation studied here, only the parents of bused children, children who had attended both schools, felt able to make judgments about both. It would be difficult to attribute this to a greater initial concern for their children's educational experience. From their own perspective, the middle class, host parents were probably at least as concerned about their own children, but this did not lead them to find out about the sending school. It seems more likely that the parents of bused children did not know about the host school as a context for formal education when they agreed to let their children participate in the program but, rather, did so for other reasons.

The results of this investigation bespeak a great deal of

lated to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement (New York: Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph No. 2, 1960), p. 23, Cited in Cloward and Jones, op. cit., p. 191.

¹Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (January, 1959), pp. 337-351.

parochialism in parental perceptions of schools. Parents tend to know (or to have opinions) about the schools which their children have attended or are attending, but not about others serving different socioeconomic or racial groups in the same city. This is even true of middle class parents who, presumably, are more cognizant of social institutions in general. A predictable consequence is that political constituencies elect educational policymakers and enact budgetary decisions with little understanding of their community's needs. Increasing social class integration in the schools, therefore, is not only potentially beneficial to low achievers without retarding high achievers,¹ but might also help to establish intergroup knowledge needed to foster more effective community decision-making about education.

A remaining question is whether voluntary integration, such as was used in the situation reported here, is the best way to proceed. The answer is not yet clear; it depends greatly on why so many declined and on whether their choices will change as they see the reactions of their friends and neighbors who accepted. Greater efforts to involve the parents of bused pupils in the life of the school must probably be made if its impact on them and in their neighborhoods is to be maximized. In any case, voluntary or compulsory integration programs are going to be attractive to those involved only if their varying perceptions and perspectives are taken into account. The dreams and fears of middle class parents differ from those of lower class parents, and the potentially most successful integration programs will provide for the needs of both.

¹James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966), p. 22.

Chapter Eleven

Perceptions of Pupil Assimilation

The intergenerational process of assimilation by means of which many minorities have entered the American "melting pot" has thus far eluded most Negroes. While some still expect Negroes to drift into the mainstream of American life through a gradual accommodation between them and the majority, the extended history of white domination and antipathy toward Negroes suggests that this viewpoint is too optimistic. Current desegregation programs are based on the premise that integration will not occur in the absence of broad, societal intervention to promote it. Ultimately, however, integration depends on attitudinal change, and policy-makers have little direct control over this. Often all they can do is to initiate a program and hope for the best. Assessments grounded in research are, therefore, all the more necessary.

The current study focuses on one aspect of a larger program to counter de facto school segregation in a medium-sized northern city with a Negro population of about five per cent. In the situation with which we are concerned, the Board of Education proposed to bus about sixty first, second, and third graders on a voluntary basis from a large, overcrowded, predominantly lower class Negro elementary school to an elementary school located in a predominantly white, middle class neighborhood. In the summer of 1965, immediately following the first year of the busing program, the mothers of 52 of the 59 bused children (47 mothers, including mother surrogates) were interviewed to ascertain their reactions to the experience. Information was also collected from the mothers of 47 of 54 children who were not bused because their parents declined the offer (41 mothers) and from the 32 mothers of 33 "host" school classmates of the bused children.

Just as policy-makers cannot assume that Negro parents will unreservedly accept desegregation programs, neither can they take for granted that reactions to a busing experience will be wholeheartedly favorable. Yet, it is the parents of bused children who carry the brunt of the burden in implementing the program, and their feelings about busing can have a profound effect on its acceptance and success. Since a primary goal of school desegregation programs is to provide a better education for disadvantaged children, it is important to know whether their parents perceive them as getting such an education. Therefore, the following report is focused primarily on the mothers of bused children.

Judging from data presented above, those involved in the current study do evaluate the host school as a better school than the sending school. More specific evaluations were also obtained. Parents were asked to rate how well their children got along in school the year before busing and the year they were bused in terms of school marks, behavior in school, and interest in schoolwork. Mothers of 18 of the bused children thought that their children's marks had improved at the host school; 17 children were perceived by their mothers as having essentially unchanged marks and 17 as having lower marks.¹ The only clear generalization that can be made here is that a majority of the children were seen as having changed during the first year of the program; among these, a lowering of marks was perceived about as often as was an improvement.

The children's interest in school seems to have fared better, however. The mothers of only nine children felt that interest had declined in the new setting, while 20 children were seen as more interested, 21 as unchanged, and two mothers gave indeterminate responses. Reflecting this finding, the parents of 87 per cent of the children noted that the children "often" talked about school. Viewed from a purely educational perspective, the bused children seem to have maintained or increased their interest in schoolwork, but there was no evidence that the group as a whole either declined or advanced disproportionately in terms of their scholastic performance. Of course, this is the first year in a new setting, making it difficult to ascertain lasting effects.

Children do not, however, learn in a social-psychological vacuum. As has been amply documented in the social sciences, a person's performance is constrained by the immediate social context. For that reason, the child's adjustment to other children and the teachers is as important a datum as his marks or interest in schoolwork. As perceived by the mothers, 21 of the bused children improved their behavior at the host school, 20 had not changed at all in comparison with the previous year, and 11 behaved less well at the host school than they had at the sending school. All mothers, however, reported that their children got along at least as well with the children in the host school as they had with the children in the sending school. Forty-nine of the 52 children

¹It is planned to compare these perceptions with actual school marks at a later date; time did not permit this comparison to be included in the current report.

were reported to have made new friends at the host school. Several mothers mentioned instances where their children were invited to birthday parties by host children, that their new friends called them on the telephone, or that the boys had joined the Cub Scouts in the middle class area. The fact that parents mentioned instances where in-school relationships carried over to non-school contexts seems particularly significant, since parents were not specifically asked about contacts outside the school setting. It should also be noted, however, that some host school mothers made special efforts to involve the bused children with their own in various extra-school activities.

In an attempt to explore the bused children's assimilation more fully, their mothers were asked more specific questions as well, such as: "During the past school year, did _____ (child) complain that a teacher or classmate treated (him)(her) unfairly?" According to the mothers, 79 per cent of the children did not complain of unfair treatment. Of those who did complain, one child cited a teacher, nine mentioned classmates, and one mentioned both a teacher and classmates. The two instances where a teacher was cited included one involving a child who thought that the teacher generally picked on him and one involving a child who had mentioned a single specific incident. Three of the ten reported incidents of unfair treatment by classmates had racial overtones. One mother commented, "In class she was the only colored girl and she heard some of the kids say they [Negroes] should all go back to Africa, but it didn't bother her none." Only one mother reported that there was a division along racial or social class lines at the host school: "They [children from Tyler School] picked on _____ and everyone else from [Hayes] School." The remaining seven instances of unfair treatment by classmates concern what appear to be usual childhood scraps, e.g., "One little boy pulled her bow off and tore her dress." Such small incidents have potentially wide repercussions, but mothers of the bused children appear to have shrugged them off, since none said they felt their children got along less well with the children at the host school than they had at the sending school.

The mothers of host children also were asked about unfair treatment during the first year of busing. Ten of the 33 host children were reported by their mothers to have suffered unfair treatment; six of these instances involved teachers and four involved classmates. Generally, run-ins with teachers were a matter of what the children deemed unfair discipline. Three of the four mothers who reported incidents with classmates alluded to the race of the children:

"A Negro girl hit her for no reason. She's no angel, but it was for no reason."

"...little things on the playground. The kids were rough from [Hayes] School."

"A Negro classmate next to her was constantly pestering her. If this girl is in her class this year and sitting next to her, I'm going to ask to have her seat changed."

No attempt was made to ascertain whether these instances of unfair treatment were, in fact, unfair. It seemed more important to find out how children and their parents defined the situation, since this would probably influence their subsequent feelings and behavior. That parents alluded to race in this context seems significant, since it reveals antipathy on the part of a minority of the host school parents.

Although opponents of desegregation programs often allege that the academic achievement of the middle class children will be retarded as a result, there is no evidence from the current study that parents perceived this to be the case where their own children were involved. Mothers of fewer than half of the host school youngsters involved in the study reported that their children's marks had changed relative to the year before. Of the 33 host children, seven were reported as doing better, 17 as unchanged, eight as not performing as well as they had the year before, and one response was indeterminate. The data concerning interest in school are even more striking. Four children were seen as more interested than they had been the year before, 25 as unchanged, and only four as having lost interest in schoolwork. Similarly, the school behavior of four host children was seen as improved, that of 25 as unchanged, and that of four others as more difficult. Even though the sample is small, the data suggest that being in classrooms with Negro children does not seriously affect reported parental perceptions of the performance of the majority of the middle class white children.

As part of a series of questions dealing with contact with the host school, the mothers of bused children were asked: "During the past year, did you go to [Tyler] School to talk about _____ (child)?" The mothers of 28 (54 per cent) of the children had actually gone to the host school to talk about them. In two other instances a father had gone, and four mothers reported that they had had telephone contact. The reasons for these visits varied. Among those

who had actually visited the host school to talk to the teacher, the mothers of 15 of the children had gone basically to meet the teacher and become acquainted with her. Low marks or trouble with schoolwork was given as the reason for six visits, the child's lack of interest in school was mentioned by one mother, and three meetings were at least partly related to children's adjustment problems in the new setting. Some of the mothers reported that they had been uneasy about making the visits, although there is no evidence that they were dissatisfied with the outcome. Among the refusers, the mothers of 55 per cent of the children had visited their children's school--virtually the same percentage as among the acceptors.

The mothers were also asked if there were any problems involved in busing. Seventeen of the 47 mothers who had had their children bused (about a third) thought that busing had its drawbacks. Most of the problems cited were technical in nature. For example, 9 of the 17 mothers mentioned that they had to pay for taxi fare when their children missed the bus. Seven noted that busing broke up siblings. By this, they meant either that the child missed his siblings (5 responses) or that it was more difficult to get children ready for school when they attended different schools (2 responses). Twenty-two of the 25 responses to this question related either to the "technical" problems of busing a child out of his neighborhood or to the problem of splitting up siblings.

The responses of the mothers of bused children reflect the fact that it was their children who were dislocated by busing; they experienced it. Nevertheless, relatively fewer of them see problems in busing than is the case among host parents or among refusers. Twenty-seven of the 32 host mothers interviewed (84 per cent) felt that there were problems in busing, including some hypothetical problems not even mentioned by mothers of bused children. For instance, perhaps reflecting their middle class orientation, three of the host mothers expressed concern that the distance between the host school and the ghetto area would be a problem if the child became ill at school. None of the mothers of bused children mentioned this. Twelve of the host mothers felt that busing ghetto children into the host school produced adjustment problems related to the newcomers' strange surroundings or that discipline suffered at school. Only two mothers of bused children mentioned these contingencies. The flavor of this outlook is evidenced in the following comments by host mothers: "The child is taken out of his own environment and placed in one which is hard for him to cope with. I don't think it is doing them any good." Or, "...only the fact that children can be cruel, and of-

ten this makes a child belligerent when he is in a strange school." Five of the host mothers thought that busing was expensive and/or a waste of money. Six categorically stated that they would not permit their children to be bused. While the busing questions had different meanings to the two sets of parents, it seems obvious from the remarks made by host mothers that there are marked undercurrents of antipathy to busing among them.

It is interesting to note that among the refusers, 38 of 41 mothers interviewed (93 per cent) felt that there were problems involved in busing. While this figure (the highest among all three groups) may reflect some of the reasons that led them to reject the program in the first place, one cannot ignore the fact that the mothers of children who had actually been bused reported far fewer problems than did either of the other two groups. Unfortunately, the only data available are "after the fact," but the results suggest that the busing of children to school may not be as inconvenient for parents in reality as many of them without direct experience expect it to be.

Finally, the mothers were asked for their opinion about school integration. Among the 47 mothers who had had their children bused, 43 approved fully and four disapproved. Thirty-seven of the 41 mothers who had refused busing said they approved of school integration fully, two approved with qualifications, and two disapproved. Among the host mothers, however, 20 approved of school integration, ten approved with reservations or qualifications, and two disapproved. The remarks of several of the host mothers are telling:

I approve of school integration for students capable of learning, who have the ability, and can fit into the program. In case of my children being bused into another neighborhood, I would stand up and refuse. If the standards slip in the neighborhood I live in, I'd move.

I approve, but you should be careful who you bring in.

If the children behave and get along together, I approve.

These mothers were concerned about "standards," how well the children got along, and that their own children not be bused. It would appear from their remarks that a substantial minority of the host mothers actually want "middle class" Negroes brought into

their school, if any Negroes at all.

Two of those who gave "qualified" approval merely felt that busing was not the ideal solution: "I approve very much, but with one reservation--integrating the neighborhoods should be the first concern." Or: "It's not the ideal way, but the only way now. Housing is the ideal way." If we recategorize these two mothers, the host mothers are distributed in the following way: 22 gave unqualified approval to school integration, eight qualified their approval, and two were definitely opposed to it. The proportion of "fence sitters" among host school parents could be a crucial determinant of the success or failure of desegregation programs. It seems plausible to anticipate larger proportions of disapproval and qualified approval in many middle class schools than were encountered here, since the neighborhood served by the school involved houses many faculty and graduate student families from the local university.

In summary, it is apparent that the parents of bused children tended to be favorably inclined toward the busing experience despite the problems they saw connected with it. In any case, the first year was a period of flux in terms of the children's performance, and some of the problems connected with the process of busing itself may have reflected inexperience and anxiety on the part of the families involved and/or those responsible for the necessary arrangements. Missing the bus and separating siblings were the most commonly cited of such problems. On the other hand, although some mothers attributed clashes between classmates to racial differences, all of the mothers of bused children thought that they got along at least as well with the host children as they had with children at the sending school the year before. Viewed from their perspective, the bused children had generally assimilated well in the new setting. These mothers had, of course, opted for integration in the first place, a fact which may have influenced their responses and perceptions.

The picture presented by the host mothers is somewhat more cloudy. Even though there is no evidence that busing lower class, predominantly Negro children into the middle class area affected the academic performance of the host children,¹ the data suggest

¹Test data presented elsewhere in this report seem to confirm that the middle class children were not hampered academically by the change.

that social adjustment did not always go well. The study included mothers of almost all of the bused children but only a relatively limited sample of mothers of host children, so more incidents might have been reported by host mothers had more been interviewed. The host mothers were also more likely than the parents of bused children to see problems in busing, problems not even envisioned by the latter. It should be reiterated that only grades one through three were involved in the busing program studied here. If, as seems plausible, the problems cited by host mothers partially reflected attempts to rationalize their own prejudices, then they might have cited different problems had older children been involved.

No data were gathered on fathers' perceptions of the situation; particularly in the early grades, mothers probably tend to be more closely involved with their children's school experiences and, consequently, more aware of relevant occurrences and more influential in determining the attitudes their children carry to school. Thus, mothers were deemed to be more relevant subjects for this particular investigation, but fathers should be interviewed, too, to determine the direction and strength of their influence on the family in this area as well as their indirect influence through formal and informal involvement in the community.

Also omitted from the middle class sample were some of the few families which had moved out of the school district during or immediately before the busing year. In at least some cases, decisions to move may have been influenced by the busing program. If so, then the results presented here understate the opposition that the program engendered among prospective host parents. In any event, it seems apparent that a substantial minority of the host mothers were either unalterably opposed to the busing program or were still withholding judgment after the first year of the program. If this sample is representative of opinion in the host area, a considerable block of host area parents can be expected to withhold full support for the program for some time to come. Until this is no longer the case, the bused children cannot be considered to be fully assimilated into the host school.

Part Eight--Concluding Statement

Conclusions specific to the case study and the demonstration have been adduced above, in Parts Two and Four, respectively. The participant observation, the testing program, and the parent survey, each largely a separate project, have been discussed in detail in the course of the individual presentations. It remains for us to attempt to draw conclusions from these three substudies together and overall implications from the project as a whole.

Unfortunately, the project was conducted in what turned out to be the "wrong" year, at least for the purposes of the three substudies focused on the desegregated children and their parents. The desegregation plan implemented the following year would have provided more adequate subject populations but, for a variety of reasons, the project (except the case study) could not be continued. Perhaps as a result, the conclusion that can be drawn with the most confidence is merely that there seems to be no evidence that desegregation, even under sometimes difficult conditions, was in any way harmful to anyone. Some of the findings, however, particularly from the participant observation and the parent opinion survey, seem to warrant at least a tentative assertion that there were positive educational and social outcomes. Future efforts in this area should examine more closely the roles that school personnel can play in maximizing the effectiveness of desegregation programs and the kinds of assistance they may be able to use most productively.

It also seems evident that pre-post follow-ups need to be carried out over a period longer than one school year, perhaps ideally in longitudinal fashion whereby the children involved could be followed through and even after the completion of their formal education.¹ The pioneering studies of the gifted by Terman and his associates² may provide a model of the depth of approach that will be required if we are really to determine whether and how school desegregation in various forms and under varying conditions affects the learning and development of those involved. Of course, we would

¹A current study in this area that is planned to continue for an extended period with long term follow up is being conducted by Patricia M. Carrigan under the title, "School Desegregation via Compulsory Pupil Transfer: Its Effects on Elementary School Pupils." (A Basic and Applied Research Proposal submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, September 1, 1965. Mimeo.)

²L. M. Terman, et al., Genetic Studies of Genius, Vols. 1-4. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1947.

be deluding ourselves if we thought that we had enough time and social stability to undertake a program of that length except for what we could learn along the way and for purposes of academic curiosity. Other studies might profitably focus on specified variables hypothesized to be fundamental to sound development (such as pupils' self-images), the relationships between such variables and educational and broader social environments, and the impact of particular kinds of changes in educational environments on those variables shown to be crucial. Some work of this kind has already been done. In practice, we will be forced to make major educational decisions based on insights gained from much less ambitious efforts than the Terman work (such as the project reported here), on extrapolations from related knowledge about education and human behavior, on more specific, pointed studies in depth such as have just been suggested, and on the clear implications of the value structure that underlies our society if it is what we like to think it is.

Finally, we must be conscious of the extent to which varied "black power" philosophies and programs may make the whole question of school desegregation academic before our plodding cities and school systems move to do much that is meaningful about it. To the extent that the need for greater responsiveness reflects an emergence of a positive self-image and a pride in one's identity for Negroes in particular and for the poor in general, it may be a constructive force that should be supported rather than resisted. Nor can we overlook the implication that the disadvantaged may have to do much of the job themselves, and that we will increasingly have to welcome their initiatives and provide them with the opportunity--even when we feel that they are making mistakes. "Move on over or we'll move on over you!" may be a more healthy slogan than it sounded when we first heard it. At least, it counsels commitment rather than despair. It seems to be possible that this is the only way in which some members of groups that have been disadvantaged for generations can attain the psychological equality and integration that may be needed before social and political integration can be implemented on a foundation of social and political equality. The analogy with the adolescent who must separate himself before he can re-join the world as an adult seems apparent. If the analogy is valid, we must not forget that, despite its difficulties, the period of separation may be a healthy one sometimes required in the normal course of development. This suggestion, and it is only that and rooted perhaps more in the statements of militant protestors themselves than in evidence reported above, may indicate that we need to look in new directions and ask new questions as we try to think realistically about school desegregation and other means proposed to promote educational and social integration on a foundation of equality.

Section Four--Summary

The "Civil Rights Revolution," with the goal of equality of citizenship for disadvantaged racial and other minority groups in America, is probably the most prominent and significant domestic social fact of the past decade. Our concern is with one aspect of this movement, the quest for educational equality. It was in 1954 that the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed unanimously that "separate but equal" education for racial minority groups is intrinsically unequal and, therefore, illegal, but it was not until later that the national implications of this decision became broadly recognized. While the Court was speaking directly of racial segregation established by law in the public schools of the South, its arguments if not its decision seemed to apply with virtually equal force to de facto school segregation that existed and continues to exist on a wide scale outside the South. Civil rights workers, dedicated educators, and others joined to bring this part of the problem to the attention of a wider public and to take action to promote school desegregation throughout the country.

In mid-1963, the Syracuse University Youth Development Center was approached on behalf of the public school system of a medium-sized, northern city. It was proposed that the Center undertake an effort to study and, insofar as possible, to evaluate a racial desegregation program that the school officials felt would soon be implemented. The Center agreed to participate and applied for funds, later granted, to the National Institute of Mental Health and the U. S. Office of Education. A combined demonstration and research project was planned, with the school system to focus its attention on the former and the Center to handle the latter. The project was to continue for two school years (1964-65 and 1965-66), with a third year provided for analysis and writeup.

After the project was approved, it became apparent that the anticipated desegregation plan would not be implemented; political opposition from within and outside the school system was too great. The project was, therefore, revised to fit the realities of the situation. The revised project envisioned a one-year pilot study, with plans for the second year to be held in abeyance until subsequent steps in the desegregation program became clear. Perhaps most important, a major new element was added--a detailed sociopolitical case study of the evolving changes.

The problem in this part of the study, as we saw it, was to examine the process of community decision-making in the area of

education with specific reference to school desegregation. Toward this end, relevant documents were examined, including minutes of public and confidential meetings, research reports, policy statements, and newspaper reports; in-depth interviews were conducted with close to forty key participants in the critical events that occurred; and observations were made of meetings and public hearings.

The first recorded community concern with school segregation emerged during public debate over the revision of boundary lines of an elementary school on the periphery of the Negro "ghetto" to relieve overcrowding. The Board of Education received the Superintendent's boundary revision proposal in May of 1962 and, as is routine, tabled it for public notification and study. Strong opposition emerged, however, since the students leaving for another school would be predominantly white and those entering would be predominantly Negro. At this time, the school's pupil population was about 30 per cent nonwhite. Interested parents and others organized, and the proposal was challenged by four community groups, one of which had ties with the newly formed local chapter of CORE. In July, 1962, their protest was successful, as the Board voted against the proposal. New plans were devised and approved, but the charge of de facto school segregation had been presented for the first time as a major community issue.

During the protest, CORE had become actively involved in opposing the proposed boundary revisions and had demanded that the Board study the problem of de facto school segregation and initiate action to solve it. The Board refused to admit that such a problem existed, and CORE picketed the administrative offices of the school district during parts of August and September, 1962. On the first day of school in September, the local chapter of NAACP and the Civil Rights Committee of a local union joined CORE in a boycott of the most overwhelmingly Negro school in the city, an elementary school with a student body about 90 per cent nonwhite. Nearly 900 of the 1,100 pupils stayed home. The school system's reaction was a mixture of surprise and outrage, but the protests led to the formation of a community Education Committee to discuss the CORE charges. This Committee, composed of lay leaders and representatives of the disputing groups, met under the auspices of the State Commission for Human Rights.

The Committee debated, researched, and discussed the charge of de facto school segregation from October, 1962, until June, 1963, when it reported to the Board that school segregation did exist, although as the result of residential patterns rather than any conscious attempt to segregate white from nonwhite students, and it

called upon the Board to attempt to solve the problem. At about the same time, the State Commissioner of Education called upon local school boards to reduce school racial imbalance. Under this dual pressure and with apparent reluctance, the Board issued a policy statement indicating that it would consider racial balance in future school boundary revisions.

Following further negotiations, the school system formulated and the Board of Education approved a plan for September, 1964, involving the reassignment of limited numbers of students of both races to schools where the other race was predominant. It met some resistance but a greater measure of support. About 450 youngsters were slated for reassignment, about half of them white junior high school pupils who were to be assigned to the city's one overwhelmingly Negro junior high. About sixty children were to be transported by bus from their overcrowded, predominantly Negro elementary school to attend grades one, two, and three at a predominantly white school where there was room for them. Two other schools were involved through the redistricting of additional Negro youngsters. This first step on the elementary and junior high school levels was a small and cautious venture that, despite its symbolic importance as a precedent, would do relatively little to change patterns of racial imbalance. The high school situation did not present a racial balance problem.

When the plan went into effect in September, 1964, only about half of the scheduled transfers actually took place. Most of the attrition occurred among the white youngsters assigned to the predominantly Negro junior high, the proposal that had stimulated the most community friction and opposition. In most cases, the reassignment was avoided through the use of an "open school" option that had been initiated by the school system a year or two earlier, partly as a "safety valve" to reduce pressure by permitting Negro parents actively concerned about integration to have their own children integrated without difficulty. In this situation, however, it operated to reduce integration, since it provided a "way out" for reassigned white youngsters.

Although even this modest first approved plan was not fully implemented, it did provide some guidelines that were used in formulating plans for September, 1965. Perhaps the most obvious of these is reflected in the school system's subsequent refusal to consider any plan involving the assignment of white pupils to predominantly Negro schools.

During the fall and winter of 1964 and into early 1965, the Board and staff together, the Education Committee, and one of the protest groups developed separate plans for September, 1965. The

plan eventually accepted by the Board was the one developed with its staff. Unlike the other two plans, which would have integrated predominantly Negro schools as well as predominantly white ones, the plan selected involved closing two of the three predominantly Negro schools and busing their pupils throughout the system. Over 1,450 pupils were to be distributed among twenty-two different schools--over half the schools in the system--compared to the four receiving schools involved in the 1964 plan. With the relatively quiet implementation of the more extensive 1965 plan, the problem of racial imbalance at the junior high school level was eliminated, at least temporarily. However, the largest predominantly Negro school in the city, an elementary school, was not affected by the plan, and changing neighborhood patterns seemed to promise new problems of racial balance for the future.

In 1966, what had been slow but apparently steady progress fell victim to a mixture of community reaction and new kinds of demands by inner city, Negro parents. The elections held in the fall of 1965 brought three new members to the seven-member Board of Education. The newcomers tended to be more conservative than the individuals they replaced, and they had not shared the experiences that had helped to moderate the positions of some of their colleagues. Meanwhile, the protesters were no longer willing to see their neighborhood schools closed and their children bused to schools in the distant, predominantly white sections of the city. For the first time, the protesters rejected desegregation proposals as "discriminatory" and made demands that white children be bused to inner city, predominantly Negro schools along with the reverse procedure, a prospect that aroused vigorous opposition among many white parents whose children might have been affected. In addition, school officials had not forgotten the failure of the proposal they had made to assign a predominantly white group to a predominantly Negro school in the fall of 1964.¹

After a great deal of community ferment, the school system proposed to bus about 200 children from the remaining predominantly Negro school as the first step in a plan to close the school over a period of several years. A second school boycott resulted, and the proposal was subsequently withdrawn in favor of a voluntary cross-busing proposal which failed to attract the required number of either white or Negro volunteers. Consequently, no concrete progress was

¹In this context, it is interesting to recall that the failure in 1964 may well have been due to the Board's own action in providing the open school option to the parents involved. The same failure was now used as a major justification for not making another attempt rather than as a guideline for how such an effort might be made more successfully.

made in the fall of 1966, and a great deal of bitterness resulted. The one seeming bright spot was a long range proposal to establish an educational park or campus plan for elementary education in the city.

Some of the most important conclusions emerging from the case study can be reviewed briefly here, but the documentation appears above. The Board of Education seems to have resisted change and reacted to events rather than taking the initiative. The protest groups, on the other hand, were the initiators of change and prodded the community and the Board into action. The Education Committee functioned as an interested third party, apparently an important role in this particular conflict at least. The indigenous leadership of the community seems to have avoided active involvement whenever possible. Communication among those who were actively involved was often poor, resulting in unnecessary conflict. Extra-local factors, particularly pressure from the State Education Department and provision by the state of auspices for the Education Committee, played an important role in helping to harmonize the conflicting interests.

The Superintendent of Schools had a particularly crucial role to play and was generally successful in his efforts to develop and promote the implementation of desegregation plans in 1964 and 1965. In 1966, however, an aggravated clash of interests led to failure and a pause in the orderly progress that had characterized the previous two school years. A possible long range solution emerged in the form of a campus plan presented by the Superintendent for future elementary education in the city. Although the city is a relatively small one and has been actively concerned with the problem of de facto school segregation for four years, much remains to be done to implement fully the principle of desegregation.

The political solution--desegregation--is, of course, only half of the battle. Real integration will require increased positive efforts within the schools involved to establish a climate of interpersonal respect and to meet the varying developmental needs of all the youngsters involved. The demonstration part of the project, which was an attempt to help the schools involved to move concretely in this direction, is summarized next.

The fundamental premise of the demonstration as originally proposed was that integration could be facilitated by an "integration team" comprised of "human relations specialists" working with the people involved. Four such specialists were to be involved, one each to focus his attention on principals, the instructional program, the social behavior of pupils, and community concerns including those of parents. An attempt was to be made to

evaluate the program systematically, using newly desegregated schools judged to be similar but without the special services as comparison settings. The proposed evaluation proved not to be feasible when the school system's desegregation plans were finalized, however, since potentially appropriate comparison settings were not included. As a result, it was decided by the project directors and the funding agencies that only an informal, descriptive assessment of the demonstration could realistically be attempted. The originally planned division of labor among members of the integration team was also revised for a variety of reasons. Three of the specialists were assigned to one school each, while the fourth served as administrator of the team and in other capacities as needed. This left one school without a specialist; fortunately, it was the school that least needed extra help.

The underlying factor in the change was probably the resignation of the school official who had first proposed the project and defined the team concept. This was announced during the summer of 1964 and took effect just as the demonstration year began. As a result, the team members worked almost completely on their own except for occasional fragile interventions by the school system, usually in response to complaints or other pressure. There was no orientation and no established or evolving formal structure within which the specialists could operate. Further, they were apparently selected to provide jobs for school personnel who were not budgeted elsewhere, and the individuals did not fit the positions as described in the original proposal. The administrator was known to the other three specialists for his harsh physical and emotional punishment of inner city, Negro children, and he was greatly resented for it. Dissension resulted, of course, and all four specialists left the school system at the end of the year. In retrospect, it seems likely that the responsible official knew that he would be leaving and made little or no effort to see that the demonstration for which he was responsible would be effectively implemented. It is suggested that this is an example of the kind of professional irresponsibility that can only serve to undermine attempts to provide quality education for all.

Despite the structural and morale problems besetting the team, individual specialists do seem to have functioned effectively and to have contributed significantly to the integration process and the general operation of the schools in which they worked. Of the three specialists attached specifically to particular schools, two were school psychologists and one was a school social worker. The first task of each was to establish a role for himself in the school where he was working. Since there were few, if any, direct precedents in educational practice and due to the general lack of planning and orientation efforts in this situation, the specialists found themselves largely on their own in defining their roles.

Needing something to guide them, they leaned heavily on their own disciplines as foundations for the development of the specifics. They determined what they would do and communicated it to school personnel, who were often equally unaware of the projected role of the specialists.

Thus, the specialist's role was defined largely on an "action" level; the role consisted of what the specialist did. Of course, the first steps were directed toward gaining the trust, confidence and support of the school community. Much time was spent talking with teachers informally in the lounges and elsewhere, helping with lunchroom supervision, and the like. Two of the specialists seem to have been helped by the fact that they had known and established positive relationships with many of the people involved through their work in the school system the year before.

Not unexpectedly, resistance developed among some of the regular school personnel early in the year. Attempts were made to focus the specialists' attention on the newly desegregated students rather than on the school as a whole, which they preferred to view as their true constituency. These pressures apparently lessened during the year as the specialists were able to assume nonthreatening roles and to be helpful to teachers and others who began gradually to consult them about a variety of problems, often not related to desegregation. The specialists were able, in most cases, to become accepted members of the school "family" during the course of the year. Of course, this facilitated their work with the newly desegregated youngsters as well. The administrator, however, apparently appeared in the schools only occasionally, often to berate school personnel for not working toward faster desegregation. These incursions were resented by regular faculty members and integration specialists alike.

In general, the work of the team included: (1) Consultation Services to administrators, guidance counselors, and teachers; (2) Supportive Services to youngsters, including both new arrivals and "oldtimers," usually in connection with problems related to the integration program; (3) Parent Education, both informational and counseling services to white and Negro parents, including PTA presentations and other contacts; and (4) Administrative Services in connection with the integration program.

As Consultants, the integration specialists tried to help school personnel to see incoming youngsters as individuals by, for example, providing special information about them and introducing them personally to strategic school personnel. They handled integration-related crises, freeing other personnel for

regular duties, and served as a link to feed the individuals involved back into the regular program. They made referrals to the school nurse, mental health workers, or other specialists as needed. Either on their own initiative or on request, they helped to evaluate students, their learning potential, discrepancies between potential and performance, reasons for undesirable and disruptive behavior, attitudes toward school, and other relevant factors. On occasion, one integration specialist was called in by another to help in the evaluation of a particular case or situation.

The integration specialists observed in classrooms and other settings and conducted group and individual conferences with teachers to help them interpret and feel more comfortable with the situations encountered. They attempted to help teachers to recognize and handle their own attitudes and to work more effectively with new children who frequently showed unexpected patterns of behavior (e.g., particular sensitivity to being touched and to words like "boy" and "Negress"), and who lacked expected social skills. They met with principals and others to discuss youngsters with problems, group action against one or more pupils, and such more general issues as how to translate potential problem situations into effective school programming. Attendance at curriculum and team teaching meetings was often included. In various ways, the integration specialists attempted to contribute to the effectiveness of the school program for all youngsters rather than only for newly desegregated ones. Planned visitations to other schools were undertaken by the specialists to enable them to be more effective. They were also available to the central administration and the Board of Education as requested and, on occasion, took the initiative in making recommendations to the school system. They generally felt, however, that what they had to offer on that level was ignored, and they resented it.

In their Supportive roles, the specialists attempted, through working with youngsters individually and in groups, to help both newcomers and oldtimers to handle their anxieties and fears. They tried to work out solutions before crisis points were reached and to promote positive attitudinal change among all pupils. They attempted to further the academic orientation and achievement levels of newcomers performing less well than their hosts by establishing tutoring groups, by seeing that bused children were able to get public library cards like their classmates did, and by other means. Group guidance sessions focusing on racial issues, including one case where such incidents marred a student exchange with a suburban school system, were conducted in the junior high schools. Specialists often helped elementary school newcomers found wandering, virtually lost, in the halls. Individual work with selected youngsters was directed largely toward helping them build internal controls. While the specialists did become involved in academic concerns in the schools where they were working, they seemed more concerned with

fostering the development of social skills that would enable lower class students and middle class faculty to approach academic objectives more effectively together.

In working with Parents, integration specialists encountered two disparate communities--that of the parents of the "host" children and that of the parents of the newcomers. In the case of the former, it was often necessary to interpret the changes to them at length and to reassure them that the quality of their children's education need not suffer. The parents of the incoming youngsters often had to be encouraged to become part of the new school and to see it as their own. They were sometimes "coached" in the kinds of social skills that they needed to be able to deal effectively with school personnel. School officials sometimes asked team members to attend and participate in meetings of parent groups concerned with future desegregation as well. Thus, the integration specialists assisted in establishing and maintaining communication and liaison between the school system and parents. The importance and success of this function was perhaps best illustrated at protest meetings where it often seemed clear that the integration specialists were respected and trusted by parents and other protesters as well as by school personnel being protested against.

One factor incidental to the integration program, its special Administrative demands, could have provided a major irritant to already overworked school personnel had not the team members been available to carry much of this load. For example, integration specialists often handled reassignment problems for youngsters who seemed unable to adjust in their new schools or who needed assignments to special classes, they arranged for the transmittal of necessary records between schools, they followed up cases of absence (from school or from the bus), forgotten lunches, and the like. Further, the specialists served as a link between the school and incoming youngsters who were lost and floundering in a new setting and needed help in coping with it. In this sense, the integration specialist may be seen as the "advocate" of the youngster who is unable, either directly or through his parents, to deal with his new school.

Despite wide personality differences, the three team members assigned to individual schools utilized similar strategies in developing, communicating, and implementing essentially similar roles. And despite a variety of circumstances that combined to impair the morale of the specialists increasingly as the year progressed, it seems apparent that they performed many useful functions and that some of them had lasting impact on the schools involved. Two major questions that remain concern the relationship that should be developed

between such personnel and the central administration, and the advisability of designating personnel specifically as "integration specialists."

Lastly, we turn to the research that was conducted in an effort to assess the impact of the 1964 desegregation program on the desegregated and "host" children and their families. Two major substudies in this area were planned, one involving participant observation and the other consisting of formal pre and post testing of intelligence, achievement, and personality and social variables. A third was added later: a parent opinion survey designed to sample relevant facts about and reactions of mothers whose children were transferred or were in comparison groups. However, the rate of attrition among critical groups of subjects severely limited the available data. Perhaps the attrition itself provides one of the most significant facts of the study.

Both parts of the 1964 program involving elementary schools were implemented according to plans ultimately approved by the Board of Education. Even this, of course, compromised severely the design that had been contemplated at the start of the project as is described above. In one case, about sixty youngsters in grades one, two, and three were bused from an overcrowded, predominantly Negro school in the inner city to a predominantly white, middle class school with one of the highest achievement ratings in the city.

Another elementary school received almost 100 newcomers, of whom about two thirds were Negro, when a nearby school building was retired. This transfer increased the percentage of Negroes in the student body from about 5 per cent to about 20 per cent and was presented by the school system to the protest groups as part of the desegregation "package." It seemed to be a normal redistricting process that would have taken place in any event, however, and seems to have been so regarded by the school's personnel and others concerned. Further, seven grade levels were involved (K-6), so the average number of Negro newcomers in each grade was less than ten. The research possibilities were severely limited as a result.

At the junior high school level, the situation was even more discouraging. Of the 221 white newcomers expected at the predominantly Negro junior high school, only about 30 actually enrolled. About the same number of Negro youngsters enrolled at the predominantly white junior high which had been scheduled to receive 75. Further attrition on the testing resulted from normal absenteeism, parental objection to the testing program, and the refusal of many of the lower class students, both white and Negro, to respond to a sociometric measure. Their apparent concern was about why the investigators wanted to know who their friends were, with occasionally expressed overtones of suspicion that the requested information

would be made available to the police. All we can say with confidence about the test results at the junior high school level is that there was no evidence to suggest that desegregation was harmful to any of the groups concerned on the basis of a one year follow-up. The data, particularly the small N's, do not permit us to go beyond that simple conclusion.

Perhaps the most significant tendency reported by the participant observers at the junior high school level was the seemingly spontaneous rise in intergroup interaction during the course of the year. This seems to have occurred when inner city Negroes entered a predominantly white, middle class junior high school with a rather hostile overall climate as well as when white, lower class youngsters entered a predominantly Negro, lower class junior high where the atmosphere seems best characterized as *laissez-faire*. "Newness," more than race or social class, may be the critical factor. These findings point to the need for confirming data and, in particular, for research on the stages of the desegregation-integration process and how they can be influenced. In addition, it seems likely that more effective orientation and preparation of the school personnel and others involved might have reduced the time required for assimilation of the "strangers."

At the elementary school level as well, the participant observers reported increased interaction between oldtimers and newcomers and increased acceptance of each group by the other as the year progressed. Integration at the school where the transfers resulted from a seemingly more "normal" pupil reassignment was reported to have been particularly smooth and uneventful. The principal appears not only to have accepted the change, but also to have acted as the primary agent in bringing about a cooperative spirit. Together, he and a majority of the faculty established a climate for the new youngsters that was responsive to their needs. They made an unfamiliar school familiar, and most of the new children felt comfortable after a relatively short period of time. A few teachers seemed to resent the change and to be unwilling to take the special steps in their classrooms that would have led to satisfactory relationships between the new students and the oldtimers, so the new Negro children in a few classes were ignored and isolated. But in most instances, the adjustment of the school to the new students and of the students to their new school was favorable.

At the other elementary school, where busing was involved and the reassignments were generally perceived as made primarily to promote desegregation, the predominant reactions of school personnel appeared to be somewhat different. Many were afraid that they would be unable to handle the difficult behavior they expected from the newcomers, or to teach them. How this would affect the "regular"

pupils was also a matter of concern. On the other hand, the school had pride in itself and most of the faculty expected that it would rise to the challenge. There was little or no overt hostility toward the newcomers, either; they were not "blamed" for the situation or for being black but were seen as "in the way" of the academic excellence that seemed to be the school's primary raison d'être.

Thus, many of the teachers were presented with a conflict. On the one hand, they tended for various reasons to believe that few of the bused children were able to perform on the "appropriate" level of achievement. They feared that these children would cause the achievement rating of the school to drop. On the other hand, a considerable number of the bused students performed well academically and did not present "behavior problems." As a result, many of the teachers were forced to take a second look at their prior assumptions. At the end of the year, some acknowledged that the bused students did not fit one "type" in terms of performance or behavior. The teachers, as well as the youngsters, had apparently had a social learning experience.

Conclusions based on such limited N's must be viewed with caution, at least until they can be studied in the context of related studies of other populations. However, the test data and the assimilation ratings offer little to support the claims of those who express the fear that disadvantaged Negro elementary school children will be "hurt" more if they are forced to compete with high achieving, middle class whites than they might be by attending more homogeneous, inner city schools. On the other hand, the test results tend to confirm that there are marked differences in performance as well as social cleavages between the groups, and it seems apparent that desegregation did little to close such gaps in the course of the first year.

It seems that "newness" to the school did not, in itself, markedly hamper the achievement or adjustment of the newcomers at the predominantly middle class school, since a special comparison group comprised of pupils who had recently moved into the neighborhood was hardly different (on the measures used) from the "oldtimers." The slight differences that did appear paled before the gulf between the bused subjects and the "regular" pupils. It should be noted, however, that the disadvantaged transfer group was not only shuttled into and out of a largely unfamiliar environment daily, but was also confronted with perhaps the most competitive academic and social situation in the city and its environs. It would not have been surprising, perhaps, had there been a year

of relative regression, but there was not. That the youngsters did as well as they did, keeping up with if not exceeding the performance of their peers at their former school, suggests that even greater progress may lie ahead for them. A one year follow-up, however, hardly permits more than tentative conclusions to be drawn even when more adequate numbers are involved.

The data provide at least suggestive evidence that teachers in the inner city perceive children's behavior differently than do their counterparts in middle class schools. While this is not surprising, it may help to remind us of the importance of teachers' expectations and perceptions in the successful implementation of desegregation programs. The sociometric results tend to confirm the existence of racial and social class cleavages even in the primary grades.

For a variety of reasons, the parent opinion survey was focused on the bused group and appropriate comparison groups. Included in addition to the mothers of the bused children were a group of "host school" mothers and a group of mothers from the inner city who had declined the opportunity, which was voluntary, to have their children bused to the predominantly middle class school. Contrary to expectations, no major social status differences were found between parents who accepted the busing option for their children and those who declined.

Mothers who had accepted busing for their children tended to agree with those who had refused that, ideally, they would like their children to have more than a high school education. About half of each group felt that more than a high school education is needed to earn what they considered to be a "decent living." Fewer than a quarter of the mothers of bused children said that they expected the child involved to continue beyond high school, however, compared to over 40 per cent of the mothers who had declined the busing option. Since the survey data were collected after the first year of the busing program, this finding suggests that some of the acceptors may have lowered their expectations for their children after contact with the higher achieving and more academically competitive setting represented by the predominantly middle class school. Of course, how realistic such expectations are is a different question. All of the middle class mothers felt that more than a high school education was needed and that their children would continue beyond high school.

Only the bused children's mothers were in a position to speak from experience about both the sending school and the host school. A large majority rated the sending school as average or better on children's learning, parental interest, and teachers' interest, but

half rated children's behavior there as below average. Nearly all, however, rated the host school as good or excellent on children's learning, children's behavior, and teachers' interest, while nearly half replied that they didn't know about parental interest there. Most of the mothers of bused children had never visited the host school. Overall, however, they rated it as better than the sending school, particularly with regard to children's behavior. Few racial problems were mentioned, and the mothers reported that their children's academic and general school adjustment was about the same as it had been at the sending school. A few technical problems were reported in connection with busing, but the mothers had no serious complaints about it. In sum, it appears that the mothers of bused children saw the experience as an educationally and socially beneficial one for their children and well worth any minor inconvenience that may have resulted.

The overwhelming majority of the mothers who had refused busing to the predominantly middle class school said they favored integration, but they tended to rate the sending school higher and to perceive more problems in busing than did the parents who had accepted. It is interesting to note that the mothers who had actually had experience with busing saw it as entailing fewer and less serious problems than did either group of mothers who had not experienced it directly. Perhaps the implication here is that acceptance of voluntary programs will spread as they are found to be less troubling in reality than parents expect, but the more basic question of voluntary versus compulsory change should also be viewed in the context of these findings.

In conclusion, it was noted that future studies in the area of school desegregation should, where possible, be planned to include larger groups and a longer follow-up period. There were no indications of harm caused by desegregation and some hints of positive outcomes. More work is needed in both the political and educational spheres if we are to achieve more effective solutions, but the effort must be accompanied by the spirit implicit in the values we espouse if it is to succeed. Finally, it is noted that some have questioned the efficacy of desegregation as the first step toward equality. This can be attributed partly to the demographic and political realities in many of our urban areas. In addition, the pressure for local control of many ghetto schools suggests that some disadvantaged minority group members see the achievement of equality in feelings of dignity and in control over one's affairs as at least as important an immediate goal as desegregation. The implications of this view must also be considered in the development of more effective policies and practices.

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APPENDIX A

Projected Program of Special School Services

(Excerpt from approved project proposal)

Project personnel working in newly integrated schools will comprise an interdisciplinary "team" supplying special services, skills, and strategies, detailed below, for effecting changes in attitudes, organizational structure, procedures, and programs so that new needs can be met more effectively. Although their efforts will be interactive and overlapping, each team member will focus primarily on one of four "client groups" involved: school principals and administrative staff, teachers, pupils, and the surrounding community with emphasis on parents of pupils attending the school.

Because the client groups in each of the schools involved will vary, many of the specific programs cannot be detailed in advance, although examples of the kinds of innovations that will be considered are presented below. These are drawn largely from the model provided by the [Jefferson] Project which, while different in content because of virtually exclusive concentration on lower class youngsters, has generically similar goals. In both instances, the goals relate to the stimulation and inducement of change in relatively inflexible social systems (urban public school bureaucracies) and to the facilitation of learning and mental health in school settings. The outside "change agents" or facilitators of change bring a wide repertoire of programs and techniques, prepared to apply those that seem particularly relevant to or demanded by a given situation. It should be noted, however, that the focus is less on specific program content than on the process by which change agent teams can initiate and implement innovations that result in more effective educational programs to meet a specific, critical need.

Underlying this approach is the view that urban schools in particular have tended increasingly to develop bureaucratic and inflexible organizational processes and structures, on both formal and informal levels, and are ill-prepared to adapt themselves effectively to changed situational demands. It is the role of the change agent not only to make change within the established, tightly knit social system possible while stress and frustration are maintained at tolerable levels, but also to equip personnel already in the situation to handle continuing change more independently and effectively even in the change agent's absence. In

effect, a major function of the change agent is to create new change agents among those responsible for the ongoing operation of the system. The absence of such outside facilitators of change, however, may result in attempts by the school to deal with new problems using old patterns of behavior that are inapplicable or irrelevant.

For example, a school serving primarily middle-class children mostly comprising a relatively narrow, above average ability and achievement range may not be equipped to handle an influx of children from a vastly different cultural background who are achieving at a much lower level. Teachers may be forced--and may be unable--to adapt their methods to meet the educational and growth needs of much more heterogeneous groups of children. Principals may attempt to establish or maintain homogeneous grouping and may, as a result, find themselves fostering segregation within an integrated school. Parents of youngsters who have been in the host schools previously may object, concerned that their children will suffer if the teachers teach on a level that the newcomers can understand. Their position may be legitimate if the school either cannot maintain at least roughly equal opportunity for all its pupils or cannot interpret this effectively to parents. Likewise, the host school may be called upon to interpret the change to others in its neighborhood, such as merchants and police. Host schools will also carry primary responsibility for the adjustment of the pupils themselves--both newcomers and those already there--to the change.

In all such areas, it will be the function of change agents to identify and promote improvisations needed to facilitate structural and attitudinal changes. The schools, as has been indicated above, tend to meet problems within the established structure or "set." Improvisations may be seen as impossible because "no one has ever done that around here." Change agents, on the other hand, are sensitized not only to the realities of the school, but also to potential for change that may not be visible to personnel more directly immersed in sustaining an ongoing program. Of course, human relations skills must be employed throughout as proposed changes are worked through with those who will be responsible for implementation. The process will not work if those proposing the changes are resented or if the changes themselves are seen as too threatening--nor will those involved become increasingly open to the potential for change and to their own possible role in initiating it. What follows, therefore, is a general overview of how change agents may function in the proposed demonstration. The techniques noted should be considered as examples of what might

prove helpful, but specific decisions will be made as relevant in specific situational contexts. A fundamental question will concern the presence of external change agents on the scene to promote, actively and intensively, the use of such techniques. Stated another way, the project will attempt to explore whether the simple availability of the techniques is enough, or whether human influences external to the school are needed as catalysts to stimulate effective change and, particularly, the positive interracial interaction that is both a primary goal of and a prerequisite to effective school integration. A more systematic approach to this issue should be possible in the second year when, it is hoped, "untreated" schools will be available for comparison purposes. Each of the team members whose role is described below will operate as appropriate to his particular specialty.

1. Administrative Specialist

CLIENT: School Principal

GOAL: To help the principal and his administrative staff establish a school climate and organizational structure conducive to meeting changing needs.

This team member will be thoroughly familiar with the school principal's role through training and experience in school administration, as well as being trained and experienced in the application of change agent technology. He will work directly and intensively with the school principals in the study schools. This emphasis is planned because the principal is the primary and key authority figure in the school and, in this position, sets or at least strongly influences the pervading tone. Even if the principal is leader in name only, the resultant conflict between formal and informal systems is itself felt in the school atmosphere. While working with the principal, the administrative specialist will consciously strive not to encourage or permit the principal to abdicate responsibility to him or to the change agent team in matters related to integration.

The administrative change agent will try to help the principal to perceive needs for redefinition of school organization and functioning that result from the changed pupil composition. Particular assistance will be given in the areas of curriculum and instruction, grouping and scheduling, and the utilization of school personnel including teachers, available specialists, and non-teaching staff such as janitors and secretaries, who can

subvert a principal's efforts almost at will. Perhaps most important, principals who are, themselves, worried and anxious about the change may need help if they are to be able to provide understanding and support needed by teachers and others as they attempt to deal with problems that are new to them. The quality of the help and the effectiveness of the support will, to a large extent, determine the subsequent atmosphere of the school and the success or failure of the change.

Many teachers are likely to need help from their principals in working with unfamiliar children and new kinds of class composition. Changes in teaching techniques as well as curriculum may be required. Some teachers may be unwilling or unable to make the adjustments. Experience in the [Jefferson] Project has shown that some teachers who can work comfortably and effectively in one kind of class, or with a particular type of child, fail when they are required to adapt to a situation that imposes different kinds of demands on them. In such cases, the principal will be largely responsible for determining whether reassignment of teachers is necessary and for arranging such reassignments without destroying faculty morale. The establishment of such innovations as team planning or teaching may enable the principal to use his personnel more effectively but will present him with new problems of supervision, interpretation, and scheduling. The administrative team member will have had experience with such innovations and will be able to provide direct assistance to the principal. New concepts of grouping may have to be evolved to promote academic educational efficiency on the one hand while preserving the educational and social benefits of integration on the other. Obviously, little will be gained and probably significant social and emotional harm to all concerned will be done if the lower class Negro pupils newly integrated into a "middle class" school find themselves grouped together in a class for "slow learners" because of their achievement test scores. All principals in newly integrated schools will face such internal dilemmas in addition to the external problems involving parents and the community. Help and support specifically relating to these areas of potential difficulty will be available to principals in the person of the administrator-change agent working with them.

2. Instructional Specialist

CLIENT: Teachers

GOAL: To help teachers develop instructional programs and approaches that meet the educational needs of all their pupils.

Teachers will be assisted by consultant specialists in both instruction and school mental health. The instructional specialist will be concerned with both curriculum and method as applied to classroom groups in which a wide variety of achievement and motivational levels and cultural backgrounds are represented. He will initiate, organize, and function primarily through instructional team planning in an intensive effort to help teachers identify, diagnose, and attempt to solve cooperatively any instructional problems related to integration and interracial interaction. Team planning has been introduced in [Centerline] through the [Jefferson] Project and derives from the following assumptions:

- a. Teachers can teach more effectively if they have an opportunity to meet with their colleagues and qualified assistants in small groups, on a regularly scheduled basis, for the sharing of ideas, joint evaluation, the establishment of significant and realistic instructional goals, and the planning of strategies to meet these goals;
- b. More effective utilization of teaching skills occurs when various strengths of teachers become a common resource;
- c. Team planning and supervision permits more efficient use of qualified specialists and, consequently, broader inservice training;
- d. Outside resources and instructional aids can be more effectively identified, obtained, utilized, and evaluated; and
- e. Teachers tend to be more committed to new programs and approaches when they are involved in the developmental process.

An instructional specialist with team planning experience will develop a schedule in cooperation with school principals to allow for the following:

- a. During each regular school day, small groups of teachers who have grade levels and/or subject area specialties in common will be released to meet with the instructional specialist. At the junior high schools, this will result in the establishment of at least one seventh grade English and Social Studies

team, one eighth grade English and Social Studies team, one Science team, and one Mathematics team. At the elementary schools, grade level teams will be established for those grades receiving the new Negro pupils. For example, if Negro pupils are moved into the third, fifth, and sixth grades of the receiving schools, then third, fifth and sixth grade teams will be established; and

- b. Classes taught by teachers involved in teams will meet at the same time each day in the junior high schools, so that regrouping of pupils can be accomplished more easily whenever necessary.

The instructional specialist will also expose teachers to a wide variety of relevant procedures, such as those concerned with pupil grouping, and encourage them to select and implement those which will most effectively induce positive interracial interaction without retarding instructional efficiency. Curriculum enrichment and remedial programs are planned, as well as after-school club or interest group activities conducive to positive interracial interaction, other programs such as school camping which provide intensive opportunities for less verbal youngsters to lead and excel, and utilization of university personnel and community volunteers for special tutoring, all closely correlated with the instructional program. Inductive, concrete teaching methods will be emphasized including perhaps an expanded variety of such self-motivating and self-stimulating activities as field trips. Such teaching aids as programmed instruction, audio-visual aids, and high interest, multi-level reading materials will be introduced when and where they seem appropriate. Independent learning activities in which the learner may proceed at his own rate and in competition only with himself will be emphasized in an effort to maximize learning at all levels. Techniques which permit classroom project committees to be comprised of youngsters of varying achievement levels, with each contributing in a manner that will enhance learning for all, will also be provided. New learning units aimed at improving intergroup relations will be incorporated into the curriculum, including such topics as "What is Race," the contributions of minority groups to our society and culture, civil rights, how words affect us (propaganda), and the like. Continuing evaluation of the new programs and procedures will be encouraged.

3. Mental Health Specialist

CLIENT: Teachers and pupils

GOALS: To help teachers and pupils to develop a classroom milieu or atmosphere that is maximally conducive to learning, mental health, social and emotional growth, and increasingly positive interracial relationships.

The Mental Health Specialist will be available to teachers and pupils in a role somewhat like that evolving for the school psychologist or the elementary school guidance worker. Perhaps it has been most aptly described by Patouillet (1957) as that of a "child development consultant"--except that this specialist will be particularly concerned with problems related to integration. Working closely with the instructional specialist, the mental health specialist will consult with teachers about ways to maximize learning in the new situation. He will provide individual and group inservice training on the human relations aspects of the situation, on ways to stimulate social and emotional growth, and the teachers' own attitudes and impact. Working directly with children, he may provide such services as group guidance focused on the integration issue, individual guidance, and preliminary diagnosis and referral when necessary. Generally, the mental health specialist will be the mental health consultant to all the client groups and change agent team members involved in the schools.

Pupil group assignments provide one example of an area in which the instructional and mental health specialists can collaborate in helping teachers to operate more effectively in the changed setting. In general, attempts will be made to foster and facilitate grouping procedures which take into account not only the academic needs of the pupils and the abilities of the teachers but also the establishment of positive interracial contacts and attitudes and the facilitation of healthy social and emotional development. The special teaching strategies offered teachers will, likewise, be the products of concern with social attitudes and mental health as well as academic learning.

4. Community Specialist

CLIENT: Neighborhood and parents

GOAL: To help parents and others in the community participate actively in the preparation for and effective implementation of integration.

The Community Specialist will focus his attention on the neighborhood in which the host school is located and, in particular, on the parents of the pupils. This approach is included on the assumption that home and other neighborhood influences substantially affect the behavior and attitudes of pupils, perhaps even beyond the power of the school alone to overcome. The work will proceed with preliminary identification of the natural, grass-roots leaders and influential opinion-makers in the various formal and informal parent groups in the receiving school neighborhood. It is planned to work intensively through these people to reach the less articulate majority, both because of practical limitations and because this approach seems potentially more effective than direct approaches that by-pass those from whom the community habitually takes its cues.

Attempts will be made in advance of the school year to educate these leaders to the pending changes, the reasons for both the changes and the project, and the role they can play in helping to make the change a positive rather than a negative experience for their community, its schools, and its citizens. Insofar as is possible, the leaders will be enlisted to work actively toward this end by educating parents and others with whom they come into contact in the community. While much of this can be expected to proceed best informally, opportunities for more formal efforts will also be provided through large group meetings for concerned citizens including parents, with films, guest speakers, and the like, as well as small discussion groups in which anxieties can be aired and discussed. Other human relations techniques will be utilized as appropriate. Absentees or nonparticipants among parents or influential citizens will be approached directly, hopefully by the indigenous leaders. Efforts will be made to interpret to them how their attitudes can affect the potential for enrichment in their children's education--particularly, how their children might be socially handicapped later if the opportunity for the experience of integrated education were not provided. Neighborhood councils comprised of existing organizations will also be enlisted (or formed where necessary) to reinforce the total mobilization and, hopefully, commitment of the neighborhood toward active, positive participation in the integration process.

5. Objectives of the Change Agent Team as a Unit

The summer will be utilized by team members for joint as well as individual planning of program and resources for the fall in addition to the preliminary work in the community as mentioned

above. During the school year, the team will work as a unit to promote continuing two-way communication between the school on the one hand and parent and community groups on the other. In addition, attempts will be made to establish communication and sharing of feelings between parents of the incoming children and those of children living in the neighborhood of the host school. Parent meetings, school open house programs including possible observation of team planning sessions, frequent reports to parents explaining what is being done to resolve any problems and to enrich the school program, and the continuation of already-established parent discussion groups throughout the school year will be encouraged. It should be reiterated, however, that the specific techniques to be emphasized will be elaborated in accordance with the demands of the evolving situation as perceived by the schools and the team working "on the spot."

APPENDIX B

Integration Unit Summary - December, 1964

When the Integration Unit began to function officially at the beginning of this school year, a number of immediate problems had to be resolved:

- (a) It was necessary to establish an operational definition of integration,
- (b) It was necessary to define the Unit's role in explicit terms,
- (c) It was necessary to establish the Unit in the setting in which it was to function, and
- (d) It was necessary to organize and develop a plan of action that would enable it to perform the given task.

The Unit resolved these requirements by constructing and adopting "An Implementation Frame of Reference," the text of which is attached.

With the plan of action established, the Unit was organized in such a manner as to provide a vehicle for its implementation. Accordingly, [three names] were assigned to the target schools of this project: Tyler Elementary School, Dexter Junior High School, and Jefferson Junior High School, respectively. The assignments were made in this manner in order to give the Unit direct contact with the schools and to provide it with a basis for direct action within the school. The fourth professional member of the Unit had the responsibility of coordinating its efforts and administering the program.

The work of this Unit in each of the target schools is clearly indicated and outlined in the Frame of Reference. Therefore, our efforts are exerted in accordance with this framework. Each member of this Unit, working somewhat independently within a specific school, is committed to the Frame of Reference and is guided accordingly.

The Unit's Work Thus Far

Work has concerned itself primarily with the four publics which the school serves: the pupils, the teachers, the parents,

and the administrators. Also, it must be noted that all of the efforts are geared toward facilitating integration and improving race relations. To date this Unit has made 289 different contacts with various members of the four publics in the pursuance of this objective. There have been 17 pupil contacts in order to provide the schools concerned with a psychological evaluation of specific children. Fifty-one counseling sessions were held with different pupils in order to give them support and understanding in their relationships with people of different ethnic backgrounds. Twenty-one classroom observations were made in order to observe the racial climate in the room and suggest possible ways of improving it. In addition to the relationship with pupils, there were 61 conferences with teachers concerning interracial matters and related educational problems, 71 conferences with school administrators and 44 conferences with parents. Also, we have been involved in 39 other instances throughout the community which concerned themselves in some manner with the task of improving racial balance in our schools. Some concrete examples of our work are provided in the sample weekly logs which follow the general frame of reference at the end of this report.

Throughout the remainder of this year, the Unit intends to continue the task that it has just begun. We intend to implement our frame of reference to its fullest extent and thereby achieve a better understanding of human relations and secure for our system an educational foundation that will insure for every child of this community an equal educational opportunity.

An Implementation Frame of Reference: Integration Unit

The Structure and Organization of the Integration Unit-Implementation Phase:

Our basic purpose is to foster integration in the public school. In order to achieve this goal we must at all times utilize patience, tact, diplomacy, discretion, and empathy. Although our efforts are restricted at the present, the implication that they may have is unlimited.

Operational Definition

Integration is a process to help people of differing races, religions, and cultures live better together. This definition describes, in simple language, integration as we perceive it. Also, it suggests that integration is a continuum proceeding from segregation.

In order to develop an integrated society there must evolve a process of desegregation followed by a process of integration. We have developed within our operational structure general objectives designed to channel our activities towards school integration. These objectives have been placed into three broad categories: educational, sociological, and psychological. Within each broad category specific goals are defined.

Educational Objectives:

1. To promote and secure equal educational opportunities for all;
2. To secure for all who are interested total involvement in the school program;
3. To provide special assistance and programing when required;
4. To promote educational growth and development to the fullest potential;
5. To provide a vehicle for change through knowledge and understanding.

Sociological Objectives:

1. To promote human dignity and tolerance,
2. To develop access to the dominant cultural value system so that individuals may more adequately profit from our changing social order.
3. To promote understanding of people who represent different cultural backgrounds so that positive personal and social growth may develop.

Psychological Objectives:

1. To instill and develop self-confidence;
2. To enhance and develop self-image;
3. To develop a more acceptable value system;
4. To facilitate psychological adjustment.

Strategies

In order to implement the objectives stated, basic strategies and principles of action are determined:

Our Primary Strategy is to establish official recognition of the Unit program. This is accomplished by several specific actions:

1. The Board of Education's decision to foster integration in the schools;
2. The Superintendent's active support of the Board's decision;
3. A grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to finance the program and study.

The Second Strategy is to gain entrance to the target schools:

1. Meet with the administration of all the target schools collectively and separately;
2. Gain introduction to the respective staffs of the three schools;
3. Offer a variety of initial services to the schools as a means of gaining entrance and acceptance.

The Third Strategy is to provide specific services to the schools of our immediate concern. These services are geared to meeting the Unit's goals and objectives.

1. To provide psychological evaluation upon request;

2. To provide counseling service to students involved in racial problems;
3. To conduct classroom observations and to suggest ways of improving the racial climate in the rooms;
4. To conduct teacher conferences upon request;
5. To conduct in-service meetings in order to enrich the background of teachers so that better race relations can evolve;
6. To conduct home visits;
7. To conduct parent, teacher, and student discussion groups;
8. To organize and institute new student activities;
9. To act as mediator or arbitrator between the four publics; the student, the parent, the teacher, and the administrator.

Although these services are not unlike services found in good educational systems elsewhere, their specific goal is toward the implementation of the integration effort in the public schools.

The Fourth Strategy is to provide an adequate structure for communication to the publics:

1. Within the Unit
 - a. Daily log
 - b. Unit meetings
2. Within and between the target schools
 - a. Formal structure
 - b. Informal contacts of Unit members
 - c. Other agencies and projects concerned with some aspects of integration
3. Communication with other groups
 - a. Planned communication with mass media
 - b. Specific organizations.

Our Fifth Strategy is to act as a consultant to the central administration and the Board of Education; to solicit participation by the central administration and the Board of Education in the Unit's activities; and to influence policy decisions.

We will make specific recommendations in regard to integration concerning:

1. Teacher personnel
2. Administrative personnel and other specialized personnel
3. Students
4. School sites
5. Special programs.

The Professional Growth of the Unit will be accomplished by:

1. The purchase of selected literature-
 - a. Books and Journals
 - b. Reference library
 - c. Coordination with [the Jefferson Project] and the Mayor's Commission for Youth
2. Our attendance and participation in appropriate conferences
3. Co-sponsorship of the Integration Seminar.

Evaluation of the Unit is the seventh strategy:

1. Identification of a problem
2. Refining of the problem
3. Hypothesis to action
4. Redefining of the problem.

APPENDIX C

Sample Logs of Integration Specialists

(Names and other identifying material in these logs have been changed to preserve confidentiality.)

Week of November xx, 1964

On Wednesday of this week, Jefferson School had open house for parents in the evening. It was my observation that this was a rather successful evening. There were approximately 150 parents attending. This represented probably over 100 families. I think it would be safe to say that at least half of the Jefferson student body was represented by at least one parent. The evening was spent simulating a school day, with parents attending the classes their child would normally attend, but with only ten-minute periods as opposed to the regular 40 minutes. The exact proportion of Peterson to Jefferson parents is unknown to me. However, I did talk with parents from both populations.

There appeared to be a great deal of interest on the part of parents attending, and a good deal of interchange between teachers and parents concerning the progress of children in various classes. It is my opinion that the parents received a very good impression of Jefferson School and were quite impressed with its program. I know of two or three Peterson parents who felt rather strongly that their children were getting a better education at Jefferson this year than they did at Peterson last year. One particularly relevant comment by a Peterson parent was, "It seems that the teachers and school are so much more interested in my child this year than they were at Peterson last year."

I had an interesting discussion with Miss L., the speech teacher at Jefferson, on Thursday. I talked with her about the kinds of things that she is currently doing in the area of speech which might be used as a vehicle for integration. This is a program where communication and group interaction are a central part of the program and, consequently, I felt there might be some possibilities for working with her, combining both the objectives of speech and integration. Miss L. seemed interested, and suggested that we talk some more after I have had a chance to observe in some of her speech classes.

On another occasion this week Mr. P., the vice principal, mentioned to me that three seventh grade girls in one class have been giving teachers a great deal of difficulty. Mr. P. asked me if I would look into this situation and offer recommendations to him with respect to reassignment of the girls into separate classes or anything else that would make the class more manageable for the teacher while at the same time allowing the three girls a better learning situation. I have gone through the cumulative folders of the girls and want to do some observation in

the class as soon as possible.

In talking with a student whom I had had in group guidance last year, I learned that this student is very interested in the Peace Corps. The student indicated that some others in her class are also interested and would like to work in the Peace Corps when they finish school. The next day I brought in some material from the Peace Corps and gave it to the student, including an address to which the student can write and ask for periodic publications of the Peace Corps. I can see how this may be a way of gaining entrance to the class--bringing in some speakers and material on the Peace Corps to be used eventually for promoting integration. It may be possible to allude to integration indirectly through a Peace Corps type presentation, but more importantly it may be a way of introducing later programs dealing specifically with integration.

October xx, 1964 (Monday)

Mr. S. and Mr. M. informed me of the events of the last few days. (I had spent two days attending a conference out of town.) I.O. has been suspended by Dr. T.'s office for walking out of school. R.Z. is still on suspension; apparently he has not been to Dr. T.'s office. (Later I called Mrs. Y., R.Z.'s mother, who reports she has not seen him since last Tuesday. She has reported the matter to the police. She does not seem upset about it, indicating that this has happened before.) E. returned to school Friday, along with his mother and an older brother who is in the Marine Corps. E. was absent today.

Miss R. approached Mr. L. and me in the hall. She was quite angry and upset. This I found a surprise. She had difficulty with T.K. This is a youngster who entered last week. He is apparently sullen and defiant, and she felt as though he had really "challenged her." Mr. L., in turn, became perturbed, saying, "Well, we can't have that. Send him out." I later talked with Miss R. again. Following this, I saw the student. Apparently, there is some history of emotional disturbance. The youngster is sullen, unhappy, and does not want to be at Dexter. He talked about the incident with Miss R. and commented that she called him "ignorant." In addition, she shook her finger at him, and this is when he "told her off." He commented there was more he wanted to say, but felt he shouldn't. This youngster seems terribly slowed down and quite possibly depressed. After talking with him, I again talked with Miss R. and indicated that, with this youngster, it might be best if she did send him out of the room. I later learned that in an effort to get him in line on Friday, the librarian had put her hands on him and he turned around, prepared to fight. School personnel have not learned that these children can't be touched without a reaction.

On the whole, the grades of the Negro students are considerably lower than those of white students. The most outstanding report card I saw belonged to R.A., who did well. R.V.P. did not do well, nor did T.J. Many of the comments the teachers put on the back of cards indicated that they felt a lot of hope with some children, and they would do better next time. Repeatedly the comment, "poor background" was made.

October xx, 1964 (Tuesday)

N. and T.L. came to the office first thing requesting to see me. Mr. M. and Mr. S. chatted with them. However, when they left,

the girls said they wanted to tell me rather than someone else. A.B. leaves every day with them for school. However, she has played hooky two days. They felt she would get herself into trouble and wondered if I could not be of help. I observed that V. was reading a novel having to do with good grooming which was written by a Negro woman. I asked V. whether or not the book was interesting. She said it was. Apparently, the home economics teacher had given it to her.

I saw another student, J.K., on the request of a teacher. J. had not been doing much work and on occasion has fallen asleep in class. Rather than seeing J. alone, I thought it might be a good idea if Mr. S. (the vice principal) and I saw her together. The student does not like Dexter; she would prefer being at Jefferson. She finds the work difficult. In relation to her tiredness, she complains of "tired blood." The youngster also indicated some physical difficulties, particularly with her knees. In talking to her more specifically about classes, she likes English least of all, commenting that they are reading, and she does not like to read. This youngster has had difficulty with reading. Mr. S. suggested that she should be referred to the reading person.

R.V.P. approached me, inquiring about the tests that Miss W. has been giving to "all students from Jefferson." I inquired as to whether she asked what it was about. She said yes and was told it was "to see how well you read." The student's question was, "Who does she think she is fooling?" I again discussed the matter with Mr. S., Mr. M., and also Mr. A. Teachers have commented that children who have missed time are still missing further time because of this particular test as well as make-ups on basic Iowas. I think that this is a situation that really needs to be looked into. These children have the feeling and know that they are being further differentiated.

Mrs. O. called the school, not quite understanding I.'s suspension. I explained as best I could and then had Mr. S. take the phone. Teachers are inquiring about I., and indicating they feel "he is really beginning to work; couldn't something else have been done rather than suspending him to the Board?"

I later talked with A.B., who reported to school at approximately 9:30, telling her teacher that she didn't feel well and had to "walk slowly." She does not acknowledge hookying. I think in this instance a home visit should be made.

Later during the day, Mr. M. called me to interview a visiting teacher who may likely be assigned to Dexter. I'm not sure at this point whether this will be an asset or not.

The area that seems to be popping up most is the difficult thing of changing attitudes. In many instances teachers are verbalizing their interest and concern and trying to "reach children." One teacher commented that she was amazed after looking through a student's cumulative folder, thinking that he has improved "terrifically" in the latter two years.

October xx, 1964 (Wednesday)

I talked with R.Z.'s mother by telephone. He still has not been found. I arranged to see Mrs. Y. tomorrow to discuss the overall problem and what possibly might be done. She seems at a loss, thinking that "sending him up won't do any good." It is my feeling that this is a youngster who, unless there is some intervention, is lost. It is likely that he might be a suitable youngster for the new Youth Corps Camp. However, this will be R.'s mother's and stepfather's decision.

Attendance in general has improved for those youngsters who have been transferred.

Mr. M. seems to have some apprehension about the school dance Friday. I am going to go over the guest list with the guidance counselors on Thursday. In an effort to attempt to give reassurance, I informed him that I would be at the dance. He has already contacted the police department and there will be extra policemen, particularly in the South Street area. He is going on past experience where they did have some incidents last year with students from Jefferson Junior High School.

I talked with the science teacher who still has Z.P. The science teacher is at a loss and feels the best bet she has is to "ignore her." I commented that the more she ignored her the more R. would do. Apparently much to the teacher's consternation, Z. imitated her by sitting on the desk. This particular teacher seems quite naive and is easily embarrassed to the point of not being able to handle this kind of situation. Another teacher, Mrs. D., was on the bandwagon about "youngsters like Z.P." and you "experts" should have some answers or do something.

October xx, 1964 (Thursday)

Yesterday I noted a white student entering Dexter for the

first time. I overheard the secretary commenting that he lived in the Jefferson district. He lives next door to a youngster who is attending Dexter. I did not intervene but observed the youngster's admittance to school. This morning when I came in, Mr. M. commented that a parent had called this morning saying that her child came home crying yesterday, saying the colored children were upsetting him. They cursed the teachers and carried knives. Mr. M. was rather surprised and commented that the mother was not interested in talking any more about it. She refused to send the child back. Apparently this child had lived in a middle class suburban area. Mr. M. said when he does re-appear, he will be sent to Jefferson.

T.L. came to the office without speaking. Finally she approached me, saying, "I have a problem." I wondered, if perhaps she might want to talk about it and she agreed. In essence, it seems that she and a white boy have a thing going in which they are doing some name calling (not racial). T. says she told the boy that if he didn't stop, "I'll knock you on your butt." The boy apparently left her alone but has started up again today. I wondered with T. if it might not be a good idea if we all talked about it together. I had the boy called and then informed Mr. S., who knew the boy and said he believed every word of it. I invited him to sit in on the meeting, thinking he should take the primary responsibility for the joint meeting. The meeting was interesting and before long both students, T. and the white boy, were laughing. The boy acknowledged "teasing T." and thought both would "have to compromise." T. was responsive to this, conducting herself very well, and said what she had to say. I thought Mr. S. handled it well. As far as I could determine, it wasn't a racial situation as such.

I saw R.Z.'s mother, Mrs. Y., in their home. She still has not seen R. but feels that he is in the neighborhood as she continually gets reports. She introduced me to another son, R.'s full brother, who just arrived from out of town. He will enter Dexter School Monday. In talking with the mother, I commented on the long-standing difficulty she had had with R. and wondered about possibilities before R. got himself into something quite serious. One thing I suggested was the Youth Corps Camp. She seemed quite interested in this. She's going to contact me as soon as R. is home. I will arrange to interview all of them in the home and then refer them to family court.

I spent some time with the guidance counselors today talking about things in general. There were some students that Mr. Q. is going to begin to work with. I knew these students from

prior contact. I attempted to fill him in on some material. In talking with Miss E. later, she commented on a teacher who came to her feeling quite exasperated and frustrated in that some children were not learning and how hard the teacher was trying. I think the time is beginning to approach when in-service training might be quite appropriate. Later during the day I saw Mrs. D. who commented that after school, I.O., who is on suspension, came in to see her and asked for the work he is missing. She was quite amazed but quite pleased and then launched into a tirade about why these students are suspended, feeling that they shouldn't be suspended.

October xx, 1964 (Friday)

A considerable portion of time was spent on the phone with Mrs. U.V., who is involved with E.Y. In addition to the usual difficulties, E. was hit on the arm by a group of boys two days ago. He is still having urinary difficulties which account for some of his absences. He feels more in particular he is being picked on; he is being constantly watched by the principal and vice principal. In response to this, I commented on how E. differentiates himself by wearing the rag in school and carrying cigarettes visibly in his pocket. She acknowledged this and wondered "how empathic the school was toward E. and his problem." I commented on my experiences, particularly with teachers who genuinely seem quite interested, but frustrated in that they are unable to "get through to him."

Later in the morning, L.J. came to school. She was obviously upset, dissolved into tears with no apparent reason. I intervened and suggested she sit in my office. The day before she had an asthmatic attack. That afternoon I ran into her and mother near the Project office. Apparently she had a three hour go at the Child Guidance Clinic that morning which might have been upsetting to her.

There seems to be quite a bit of anxiety in and around the dance tonight. I have been over the list of invited boys and girls. I assured Mr. M. that I would be there, however, as things turned out I was not. (Mr. and Mrs. A. were in attendance.)

November xx, 1964 (Monday)

Proceeded to the office and did Friday's dictation. Continued to Hayes School and met Mr. K. where we examined the phone call made by Mrs. A. in relation to M., a bus student at Tyler. Followed this by meeting with Mr. K.'s staff (two guidance counselors, visiting teacher, vice principal.) Discussed the possibility of influencing future planning for transfer youngsters and the current status of programs at Hayes and their implications for exporting these ideas to other schools; specifically, the reading programs--including readiness experiences with volunteers, math programs, and cultural enrichment programs. It was the unanimous opinion of this meeting that some selection should be operative in future plans for students moving outside the district. Hayes is increasingly becoming an exclusively Negro school, about 90% at this time. This is the greatest concentration of Negro students that have attended Hayes.

Proceeded to Tyler and held a conference with Mrs. B., the principal, concerning the possible use of volunteers with the first and second graders for the purpose of providing readiness experience. Offered my services in connection with supervision of such volunteers. At this time Mrs. B. stated she does not want to include volunteers, even though their use may have merit in the overall school program. Discussed attendance and other standard data that Mrs. B. would like to have analyzed. Volunteered to participate or initiate this analysis. Also discussed the possibility of providing out of school library facilities. She requested that I relay to Mr. A. the fact that she feels this is an important thing and that he may be able to play an active role in coordinating the library facilities at the Hayes School, the community center, a Rescue Mission, Salvation Army, with the public library facilities for the use of bus students who now attend Tyler.

Had a conference with Mrs. J., the school social worker, re the behavior of youngsters referred to her. They were referred for difficulty on the playground and lack of school achievement. It was noted that many of the Hayes youngsters will be receiving extremely low grades this first marking period. However, the policy has been established that they will "get the benefit of the doubt" on grades. Mrs. J. and I agreed to note down our observations in a special file folder to be kept in her office so that at the end of the month we might synthesize our perceptions

into some meaningful understanding.

The participant observer from the Youth Development Center informed me that when she visited the public library last week, it was the Hayes youngsters only that were devoid of public library cards.

November xx, 1964 (Tuesday)

Went to Tyler; participated in planning for the open house. Had a conference with a parent in relation to his eighth grade son at Dexter. The general tenor was in the form of a complaint. A teacher was apparently turning to the youngster and confiding her problems with reference to the political factions and to the proper placement of those "different" children, meaning Negroes, who did not belong in the school and could not profit from the education. The parent was quite upset that his son was being exposed to such attitudes.

November xx, 1964 (Wednesday)

School Holiday

November xx, 1964 (Thursday)

Had a conference with Mrs. B. first thing in the morning. In particular, we discussed the use of standard testing and other procedures, their curriculum implications, and how they might aid some of the youngsters in the integration movement. Mrs. B. requested specifically that I investigate the IQ, achievement, and reading scores and also the attendance data. She is interested in discovering more effective ways of utilizing this material specifically in the area of reading, but also in other subject material development.

Visited Dexter, first to discover who the eighth grade science teacher is who is having particular problems with Negro youngsters. This was motivated by the complaint of a parent. Discussed this with Mr. V., who was already aware of a great deal of the teacher's difficulties in this direction. Had a conference with Mr. L., principal, concerning the school's responsibility for including youngsters previously not included or who are not included for reasons of poor school preparation.

November xx, 1964 (Friday)

Spent several hours at Tyler, conferring first with Mrs. B. and then with other staff members concerning the best analysis of the data obtained from the fall testing so that it would be utilized to build curriculum. For example, to get better indications

of reading groupings and their uses. Held a small seminar with four teachers concerning brain-damaged youngsters. A special case of a youngster who has just entered the school and is in attendance only four hours a day was the focus of the conversation. This led to the need for such information on the part of teachers and a request that specific information concerning cerebral palsy youngsters and others be obtained for presentation to teachers. This seemed appropriate as an entree move toward in-service education and the general topic of understanding youngsters and communicating effectively with them as well as planning programs for their effective learning.

Last evening, Thursday, had a conference with Mrs. A., the mother of a bus child, re M., a first grade youngster at Tyler. M. is now a little happier and Mrs. A. decided that it was really her friend's return to Hayes that had influenced her wish to also return to Hayes. Discussed the possibility of considering this after a year in the school and left it a little bit up in the air but on a much friendlier basis.

Log of Integration Specialist #4 (Administrator)

October xx, 1964 (Monday)

I visited Jefferson and Dexter Schools during the morning and talked with the administrators at each school. Everything was normal at both schools and the principals voiced no immediate concerns or problems. Mr. J. related that some parents in the community were going to hold a protest meeting to state their concern about the "poor education" and the "cruel and unjust treatment" their children were receiving at Jefferson and Horace Mann Schools. For the moment the racial overtones of the protest are rather obscure and the Integration Unit is not involved. I also discussed this development with Miss S. (Principal of Horace Mann School)

During the afternoon I held a staff meeting at which time the Unit [Team] discussed the situation at the three schools and the protest meeting scheduled for the next day. Also, we continued to discuss and develop the structure and organization of the Unit.

October xx, 1964 (Tuesday)

The day consisted of routine office work. I detailed the remarks that I would present to the administrators and supervisors at the staff meeting the next day. Also conferred with Mrs. U. again concerning her possible involvement with the Integration Unit.

October xx, 1964 (Wednesday)

During the morning, the Unit attended a staff meeting of administrators and supervisors. This meeting was devoted to briefing the entire administrative and supervisory staff on the special projects that are operating in the school district. At this meeting I made a presentation about the operation of the Integration Unit.

In the afternoon I held a staff meeting. We discussed the school situation, the morning's presentation, and we completed the structure and organization of the Unit. This structure and organization is to be the key to all of our activities and must be reflected in any action we pursue in order that our ultimate objectives can be reflected.

At 3:00 p.m. I conferred with Rev. B. in order to discuss the parental protest movement that is developing in the community. He assured me that he would make every effort to give the movement positive leadership and direction.

October xx, 1964 (Thursday)

I continued to follow up on the parental conflict that is developing. I talked with Dr. K., Mr. J., and Miss S. concerning this matter and also advised them of my meeting with Rev. B. I visited the three schools and talked to the administrator at each. At Dexter, Mr. L. stated that all was going well and that he was pleased with the situation thus far; Mr. J. at Jefferson expressed the same general view; and at Tyler Mrs. B. expressed satisfaction with the situation. However, she and I did discuss a problem which a Mrs. K. had expressed about the school (a rather personal problem with some racial overtones which concerned itself with name-calling on the part of some children at Tyler). I also talked with Mrs. K. about the situation and assured her that the school would do whatever it could to prevent this sort of activity.

October xx, 1964 (Friday)

Routine office work and administrative duties filled the morning. In the afternoon the Unit attended the Integration Seminar with the Youth Development Center representatives of the project.

APPENDIX D

Sample Field Notes on Observations

(Names and other identifying material in these notes have been changed to preserve confidentiality.)

Hilda Mason

October xx, 1964

Gilbert Elementary School

Miss Pettiman's 5th grade-- Arithmetic lesson was in progress when I entered the room. Sam Arno (old, white) was extremely busy talking to Art Robbins (new, Negro). Sam sits in front of Art but at least one-half of his time is spent with his body turned in the seat toward the rear of the room. The teaching is taking place in the front of the room and he is in the first seat, front in his row. Arthur was called on twice by Miss Pettiman, for answers to arithmetic problems. His answer was wrong on each occasion. The lesson was multiplication, one of the digits being a zero. There was much talking among the pupils on subjects other than the one being taught, ample body movement, noise and disinterest generally. I would venture that three students out of the total (20) were attentive.

Arthur was interested and busy this morning during the early part of the lesson. He was called upon more frequently than any other student. On one occasion, it was in the middle of a conversation with Sam, and he again offered an erroneous response. Miss Pettiman said, "Arthur, I want you to watch this work as the problems we are doing are on the paper I have just handed back." Miss Pettiman called on Sharon Hutton (old, white) for the next problem, 807×9 , and Sharon could not answer 9×8 , so Miss Pettiman asked for hands of those who could answer. Six students raised their hands, including Arthur, who was given permission to state the answer. After his stating 72, she called on Chris Matheson with, "Is that right, Chris, $9 \times 8 = 72$?" Chris, who had been tapping on his desk and not showing interest in the lesson, answered, "Yes." Then Miss Pettiman said, "Sam, would you do the next one, please?" Again, there was no answer and after a few seconds pause to allow him time, she referred the question to Hugh Brighton (old, white) who completed the problem. Miss Pettiman announced, "Your homework for tonight will be----" but she was unable to finish as Roger Jenkins said, "We haven't done page 24." Miss Pettiman and four students said, "Yes, we have." But Roger restated they had not and she decided to consult her plan book. Apparently he was right for she then said, "Your homework will be page 24." Her next question was addressed to Roger: "What is the purpose of a zero?" He gave a full and detailed answer.

Arthur's interest had waned during the latter part of the lesson. He seems quite immature in comparison to some of the other students in the room: he talks to himself in sort of a fantasy situation, as though he was repeating new phrases or words or per-

haps playing another role. His fingers are frequently in his mouth, he traces imaginary objects with his fingers on his desk and frequently, I would say 10 minutes out of the hour, he laid his head on his folded arms on the desk, sometimes with open and sometimes with shut eyes.

During arithmetic, five children were working on other work. Miss Pettiman did not appear to notice them. She told the class to take out their reading books and added as an afterthought, "How many did not understand the arithmetic for today?" No hands were raised. "Who would like to have it explained again?" By this time the children had their reading books on their desks and were ready to begin, when Hugh Brighton, who had been one of those working on other work during arithmetic time, asked for help. She began her broader explanation for him with, "How many eggs in $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dozen?" which was totally unlike the work preceding this. It had consisted of multiplication (using 0's in the multiplier). Arthur was resting with his eyes closed when she called on him for the answer. He answered 4, so he apparently wasn't too withdrawn. The boy who had asked for further explanation was turned around in his seat conversing with the student in back of him during this time, but Miss Pettiman had apparently forgotten her motive and placed another question on the board. This time she called on Sam for the answer, " $\frac{1}{2}$ of 10, Sam?" "Five," said Sam and immediately turned around to talk to Arthur who, by this time, was sitting up again and attentive to the lesson.

Roger often gives directions to Miss Pettiman and the class. (This is called "pushing" the teacher. Most teachers resent students who do this, but Miss Pettiman showed no signs of resenting being "pushed.") For the second time this morning he broke in with, "What about our reading workbooks? When are we going to work in them? We are going to do them in school, aren't we?" Her answer was, "In school and at home." Roger gave an audible nauseated groan. He showed no signs of his victory in getting Miss Pettiman to abandon the long arithmetic lesson and to begin reading which she had suggested twenty minutes before. I had observed him frequently looking unhappy, disturbed, and discouraged. When he gazes in the teacher's direction, his face is particularly set with a look of either he doesn't like what he sees or it's not what he wants. (He has the look of a child who desires some object but his mother has told him no, he can't have it. His nose is turned up and his head is resting on his hand and it grips his chin in deliberation.)

Reading began and the review or preparatory questions were

all answered by Arthur. Three other hands were raised but after his first responses she addressed all succeeding remarks to him.

Obviously Miss Pettiman was unprepared, as she gave the children paragraphs to read and she read also the same material, constantly referring to the teacher's manual section in her book. She called on Sam but again there was no response, and she referred her question to Roger. His response was very verbal and descriptive, but displeasure was apparent in his voice. Throughout the remainder of the reading session, Roger's hand was the only one raised to answer the several questions asked. Joan Rogers was combing her hair, Chris Matheson was playing with the insides of his ball point pen, Rita James was eating licorice pipes (candy), and Hugh Brighton was again beating his pencil, drum-fashion, on his desk. Arthur was resting with his head laid on his folded arms on the desk and Miss Pettiman herself had directed her attention to several official looking papers which she shuffled and reshuffled on her desk. The papers contained blocks like those used for children's names and addresses. Sue Pearson had been reading orally and when she finished, it was several seconds before Miss Pettiman realized that she was through.

SUMMARY: On my first visit I felt that Miss Pettiman was overworked. Today she was obviously unprepared and some of the class realized it. She is so engrossed or involved in what she is teaching that she forgets the students. Some children were never called on, and Arthur received more than his share of attention and recognition.

Verna Elkins

October xx, 1964

Tyler Elementary School

NOTE: I noticed two or three things today which I think will have positive consequences for the integration of the Hayes children into Tyler. Mrs. Reasoner has begun to relax. I don't know if it is because of her talk with Dr. Blume, her knowledge that a visiting teacher will soon be joining the staff, or what; my own thought is that after years of teaching in Tyler, she was not prepared for a "mass of brown faces." She did not know these children's older sisters and brothers, had no contact with the parents, etc. She did not know which were apt to be ring-leaders, whom she could call on in a pinch, etc. Now she is getting to know these pupils as individuals. I noticed in the lunchroom she is no longer the principal with the big stick, but is doing her best to talk these children into good behavior, kidding them, smiling, a bit of cajoling etc. Also, she is getting to the point where she is really honest with me. She seems to trust me now, and believes me when I say I want to make the fewest waves. She pointed out two teachers who she considers as very nervous, and said that it would be best if I could observe them for frequent, short periods of time rather than a long time infrequently.

After a few minutes of conversation in the office with Mrs. Reasoner and Mrs. Marko, I was ready to head into Miss Boatwright's room. Mrs. Reasoner told me there was a math demonstration going on in there at the time, but that it would be all right if I went in. I took a seat in the back of the room (near the teacher's desk) and turned my attention toward the visiting superior; I found it was hard to do my job, for she was doing such a fascinating job of getting the class ready for multiplication. Every child was giving her attention, and so I concentrated on getting names connected with faces. There are 28 pupils, 10 of them are girls; this is important, for that many boys at that age is apt to be hard to handle. Of the 28, four are new white boys (including James Kolson's twin brother, Mark, just as bright) and three Negro Hayes children: Bonita Sierra, a beautifully dressed sister of Charles the "out-of-stepper" in Mrs. Sterling's room, Johanna White, a very quiet child, and Tony Armstrong, a boy who gives me the impression there

is nothing between his ears. I would not be surprised if I found him sleeping in class someday, but he does not appear to be a troublemaker. It is interesting to note there are two Negro boys in the class, Bob Francher, and Willy Penn, who were in the school last year; the former is a quiet, conscientious little boy, the latter often on the border of trouble.

At 10:50 Mrs. Reasoner came to the door, and then came in, and signaled the teacher that she should have moved on to another classroom. It took the supervisor a few minutes to wind up. There was a brief three-way conference between the three teachers, during which the class gradually became more and more noisy. This was upsetting to Miss Boatwright.

NOTE: These children must not stand in awe of Mrs. R. or this would not have happened. It was not the new children, but the old ones making the greatest amount of noise.

When the other two left the room, the class responded quickly to her order for quiet, and did appear quite shamefaced at their actions. At this point it was approaching 11:00, and so Miss B. asked them to get out their library books, and she began passing out their cards. Generally the children were patient. They lined up as instructed, and passed to the library without noise.

In the library the children were allowed to sit wherever they wanted at the eight tables of six chairs each. As soon as they were quiet Miss B. began sending tables in turn to return their books. As soon as he had figured out her plan, Willy Penn, (old, Negro) and another old child moved to the table where I was sitting alone; it would be called on earlier than the one where they had been sitting. During the library time, on a couple of occasions, he did some slightly devilish things such as borrowing a pencil from Miss B. and then taking a very long time to return it though she was asking who had it; she needed it. The children were given about ten minutes to choose a book. I noticed that Willy pushed in a group of books on a shelf.

The class had to prepare for lunch as soon as they got back to the room. Children were lined up, lunchers last. As soon as about 3/4 of the non-lunchers were lined up, the lunchers made something of a dash for the door - evidently in an effort to be first in that part of the line. There were six children at lunch, three girls and three boys, and ~~that is~~ now they divided themselves at the table. I sat with the girls. There was almost no conversation at our end of the table. The one old white girl, Sue

Tomkins, was reading a Spanish book during most of the meal. Most communication between Bonita and Johanna was nonverbal. I was able to watch the other three grade tables, however. The entire atmosphere was relaxed somewhat. Mrs. Reasoner, when she came in and was about to blow the whistle, admonished them all to be quiet because it was such a beautiful day they would no doubt want to be outside. When there was a rumpus at a big table, she did not appear angry, but talked with the children about it. She asked Bonita, by name, if our table had been quiet (which it had) and so we were the first to leave. As we lined up at the door she asked Tony (not by name) if he had liked the math lesson; his face was a complete blank. Some of the other children responded positively.

My arrival on the playground caused a stampede of about eight girls in my direction. But when I told them my plan to sit on the far side of the playground I immediately lost most of them. I noticed very little rough play in the 3rd and 4th grade groups today, but some in first and second grade boys. However, the tone on the playground was not very rough today.

I re-entered Miss Boatwright's room at 12:40. The children were working very quietly at their desks. Many of them were involved in a fish project, using different reference books and writing individual compositions about a particular fish. The teacher sat at her desk, and would help individual children as they came up to her. As it neared the time for the last bell, she took out her attendance folder and checked seats. Mark Kolson was not there; she went to the door and looked in the hall for him. Jimmy then commented that he had seen him (didn't say where or when). As soon as the bell had rung, she went to the front of the room (her desk is in the back) and talked about getting fish pictures. Then a writing lesson was in order.

I have watched three different teachers teach writing at this point. Each had a different technique. My feeling in this lesson was that Miss B. did not know quite what she was doing, and the children sensed it. She would have them air-write, but did not really check them. If she walked around the room, looking at their papers, her comments were minimal. She would not be able to remember whether or not they had learned a particular letter, and there would be a classroom debate for a few seconds. Then it would take a minute to quiet them down again.

Once the writing papers were put away, Miss B. stood at the front of the room for a minute and reviewed what work still had to be completed. Then a reading group was formed in a unique and calm way. For a minute it looked as if all sorts of children were

milling around the room (quietly), carrying books or crayons or paper. Then I realized she uses desks for reading, and there was a group of children on the far side of the room addressing themselves to her lesson on the "shwa" sound of a vowel, whereas the rest of the class was working on its own. This meant children were at other children's desks, and I was waiting for some sort of trouble. Practically none came. No child looked in another's desk, but Tony did forget something and after about ten minutes had to go back to his own desk and get it. Miss B. did not like this but she did not make an issue out of it. I left during this lesson.

Then, in the office, Mrs. R. and Mrs. Marko were working at the desk. As I entered Mrs. M. said "There is Mrs. Elkins now." Mrs. Reasoner asked me how long I planned to stay in Miss Arthur's room on Wednesday. I was confused, and then realized I was going in there a week from Wednesday. It was at this point that she took me out to my sign-up sheet, and pointed out the two teachers whom she felt might find it hard to have me with them. They are both what I refer to as Old Guard.

Robert Dalton

November xx, 1964

Dexter Junior High

NOTE: The song title "It's A Most Unusual Day" characterizes the activity at Dexter Jr. High today. The students were supposed to go to Bristol High School to see the play "Young Tom Jefferson." Due to a mix-up in bus scheduling, they didn't leave on time. The buses were over a half an hour late arriving at Dexter and the day's schedule was thrown into a tizzy. Due to this calamity I spent three hours in the school and only observed students for a half hour. This observation was done without the benefit of seating charts or a list of names. It turned out quite well however, as I made some friends among some ninth grade girls who I have not been able to meet before.

I arrived at the school at ten o'clock this morning. I sensed that something was in the air when I arrived. I could hear no teachers concluding classes with doors open. Usually there is the empty stillness of the hallways with an occasional adult voice raised in exhortation breaking in the air. Today there was a warm murmur, not of teachers voices, but students voices. I walked down the central corridor on the first floor and could see that the students in the home room had their coats on.

When I reached the end of the hall I could see the portable bulletin board which revealed the information "Monday, December 7, 1964, Play at Bristol, Young Tom Jefferson."

Mr. Martin zoomed out of the office with his coat on. "Hello there," he said in an exuberant tone of voice. "Going to the play?"

I told him I didn't think I would because I had planned a full day. He told me that the majority of the student body was going to go and that the rest would be in the cafeteria for a study hall. I placed my coat and boots in my locker and walked to the cafeteria to see what was going on.

The cafeteria was very quiet. The students were placed in every other chair at the tables and they all seemed to be studying. Mr. Hetler, the gym instructor, and Mr. Josephs, one of the shop teachers, were on duty and appeared to be having an easy time of it. I caught Mr. Hetler's attention and arranged a meeting with him when he was relieved from duty.

I went into the teachers' room. There were only two people in the room, Ned Carson, from the school board group, and Mrs. Dix, one of the math teachers. Both of them greeted me as I sat down. Mrs. Dix was talking to Ned about his approach to speech-writing. He said that it was for a group he was talking to [out of town]. Mrs. Dix was quizzing him on whether it was what he wanted to say as a speaker or was it what the group he was speaking to wanted to hear. He assured her that it was what he wanted to say. Mrs. Dix mentioned that she was tired of going to meetings, including faculty meetings, and being bored to death by namby-pamby speeches and speakers who said nothing and stood for nothing.

Mr. Josephs came into the room and sat in the chair to my right. "Have the buses arrived yet?" he asked.

None of us who had been in the room knew. Ned went to the window and said that only one bus was out front and no one was on it. It was ten-fifteen, the scheduled time for the students to leave.

NOTE: A good part of the time I spent in the school today was spent making small talk with the teachers. I will try to leave out that which I feel was insignificant, I will mention what I consider to be the significant conversations. During the time from 10:15 to 10:30, Mrs. Dix gave me a helpful lesson in Elementary Algebra. Mr. Josephs and I talked very briefly about the ice storm which prevented the State Teachers College athletic teams from leaving for their games over the weekend. Mr. Josephs lives near the College and commutes to Dexter every day. I graduated from the State Teachers College last year.

At ten-thirty I left the teachers room and went downstairs to my locker. On my way I passed Mrs. Johnston and Miss Pace. They were standing outside of Miss Pace's home room with their coats on. Both women are eighth grade teachers. Miss Pace is the only Negro teacher at Dexter.

I stopped and asked them what the story was on the buses. Neither one seemed to know what the matter was but told me they had been instructed to stand by until the buses came. I went to my locker and returned to the teachers' room.

Shortly after eleven o'clock Mr. Martin came into the room.

Mrs. Dix asked if he had been able to get the buses going. He be-moaned the fact that the rest of the day would be shot. He didn't know what time the students who went to the play would be back and he said that they hadn't decided what to do about the lunch periods.

Mr. Martin left and Mr. Hetler, the gym instructor, and Miss Baker, a seventh grade teacher came into the room. Mr. Hetler came over to where I was sitting and asked me what he could do for me.

NOTE: I had seen Dr. Blume earlier this morning and asked him if he thought it would be okay for me to arrange something with Mr. Hetler so I could participate in the gym classes with the students in some way. Gym classes have been the hardest classes for me to observe. I find that I might know some of the students in the class but not all of them. Even with a class list it is hard to identify the kids when they are playing a game of basketball. When activities are taking place and I have to sit on the sidelines I can't hear what the kids are saying and sometimes can't see what they are doing. Dr. Blume agreed to let me negotiate with Mr. Hetler for some type of role in the gym classes which would allow me to make better observations but would not compromise my stance in the school.

I explained to Mr. Hetler that I had been having problems in observing gym classes and asked him if he might have any suggestions that would help me. He said that he was willing to let me do whatever I felt was needed. I asked him if he thought that there were any activities he felt I could join in that wouldn't affect the kids' playing or learning. He said that they were going to be wrestling for the next week or two and thought I would be able to mingle with the kids around the mats without taking any role other than my usual one. In two weeks they are going to begin tumbling and he thought that I could do the spotting. I thanked him and told him I would see him again before the tumbling classes began.

NOTE: Every time I talk to Mr. Hetler I come away feeling good. He never presses me about the project and accepts my presence without suspicion. I made it clear today that if he didn't want me doing this that it was entire-

ly up to him. He seemed surprised that I would think I was in the way. He said that I knew best what to do for my purposes and that my being in the gym classes kind of gave him a lift even if we didn't get to talk much.

Mr. Martin came back into the room at 11:30. He told us that they were going to feed the students who did not go to the play before the others returned. He told me that if I was going to stay for lunch I could go in any time after 11:45. I said that I would eat lunch with the kids. He said that the students would begin to eat at about 12:00.

I entered the lunch line at five minutes of twelve. Most of the students had already purchased their lunches and were in the eating area. I joined a table of older looking girls at the south end of the room.

As I placed my tray down on the table the girls looked at me as if they didn't know who I was or what I was doing. There were nine girls at the table (all white). Five sat on the opposite side and four were sitting at the side I chose. An attractive blond girl, who was sitting opposite the girl on my right, said, "Hi,--who are you?"

I asked them if they hadn't seen me in the school before. The same girl said she hadn't and asked me how long I had been there. She looked surprised when I told her I'd been there from the start of the school year. The girl sitting next to her said that she thought she remembered me.

I had to explain why I was in the school and that I was going to all the classes. The girl, a brownette, who sat on the left of the girl who had greeted me said that I should come to their parties if I really wanted to find out what Jr. High kids are like.

I said, "Parties? You mean you have parties? I was wondering what the kids did around here besides go to classes and eat lunch!"

"Yeah, we have lots of parties. We could even have one for you if you wanted to. It's no fun here in school. They even tell us who to sit by and where to sit in the cafeteria," she said.

"Am I sitting in the wrong place?" I asked.

"No, it's okay today because the rest of the kids are gone. We were going to sneak out and eat at Hawley's but everyone

chickened out."

"Joan, don't tell him that."

"That's okay," I said. "I'm on your side. Did they take your names or something on a list?"

"Hey, that's right, we could've gone and they would have never known. You're pretty cool to think of that. Why didn't we go?"

NOTE: I became somewhat alarmed at this reaction because I realized that I had given them a good excuse if they had wanted to pull something and no doubt it would have gotten back to the fact that I had thought of it. However, I think that it was the type of thing that they had thought would have been quite daring but rather risky. The chances of them getting caught, even by their own parents was quite high. I think this might also reflect the fact that the ninth graders are a bit more sophisticated and sharper than the 7th and 8th graders. I've spent most of my time with the 7th and 8th graders and will have to watch what I say around the 9th graders more carefully.

"Jr. High kids do a lot, I'll probably have to get married when I'm sixteen," said the blond. The rest of the girls laughed.

"Your mother would shoot you if that ever happened," the girl sitting next to me said. "That's no way to talk anyhow."

"You're married aren't you?" said the blond. She was looking at my wedding ring. I nodded yes. "It's okay, he's married."

"That's not so much a joke though Carol West had to get married when she was 16," the girl sitting next to me said.

"How do you know?" the third girl on the opposite side of the table asked.

"Because they have a baby 1 year and 6 months old and they're only married one year and 6 months. It doesn't take a real brain to figure that out. You should have been here last week when we had discussions. We talked about everything, sex, going steady, dating, talking on the telephone, things like that. It was cool."

"Do any of you kids know Gary Chesterton?" I asked.

NOTE: Gary Chesterton (old, white) is a boy I met the first day I observed at Dexter. He appeared to be a "lady's man" and I guessed that these girls would know him.

"Oh, Gary, we know him," said the blond. "Do you?"

I said that I did and mentioned that I would probably be going to some classes with him in the next couple of days. The lunch period was about over and the announcement came over the loud speaker for everyone to pass their paper to the end of the table.

Tom Markatz (old, white) came by the table with the trash can. He spoke to one of the girls. One of the girls on the opposite side of the table asked Tom if she could wear his ring for the rest of the day. The blond said that she would have to wait because she hadn't broken up with him yet.

Tom raised his hands in a mock attempt to call order to the chaos. "Please, please, let's not have a ruckus. You girls will just have to settle this by yourselves. I can't take sides in such a serious matter." Everyone laughed.

NOTE: Tom was the boy who was with Gary Chesterton (old, white) in the audio-visual room the day I joined them. He, Tom, did imitations of political figures and has a flair for jokes.

The table was cleared. Mr. Martin called for quiet over the loud speaker. He sent the seventh grade boys to the gym with Mr. Hetler, the seventh and eighth grade girls to the small gym with Mrs. Dix. He waited several minutes after they had left the room and told the ninth graders they would go to their lockers and then go to the auditorium.

I left the cafeteria with the girls. The blond told me that I should come to Mr. Sanders' fourth period class some day. I asked her if she liked Mr. Sanders. She said that he worked them very hard but they learned a lot in his classes.

Tom Markatz (old, white) came up beside me. I asked him to tell Gary Chesterton (old, white) that I would probably see him the next day. He said he would and reminded me that I should come to Miss Fontaine's sixth period class. I told him I would try to get there soon.

The girls waved goodbye as they went to the auditorium.

I returned to the teachers room to see if anything had been decided about the day's schedule. No one was in the room.

About 12:30 Mr. Wiltsie, the instrumental music teacher, Mrs. Mooney and Mrs. Birdey came in the room. Right behind them came Miss Pace, Mrs. Johnston and several other teachers. None of them knew what schedule was going to be followed.

The teachers were talking about how confusing the day had been and what a waste the rest of the day would be. Mrs. Johnston thought that the play was very good, as did Miss Pace. Mrs. Birdey felt that the ninth graders didn't pay very much attention to the play.

Somehow, the name Mark Moneypenny came into the conversation. Mrs. Birdey said that she hadn't meant Mark Moneypenny but had meant his brother. Mrs. Johnston said, "Oh, does Mark have a brother here?"

Mrs. Birdey said, "Yes, your boy Mark is at Millbrook now and his brother is very sensitive about it. If you mention his brother's name you've got a fight on your hands."

NOTE: Mrs. Johnston had mentioned to me previously that she was going to try hard to "reach" Mark Moneypenny. He was an extreme behavior problem but she felt that he was very bright if someone could help him. Mark got to be known as Mrs. Johnston's boy among the teachers because she always would stick up for him and try to help him.

Mrs. Birdey continued, "He's nothing but a troublemaker. In fact, that whole class, 7B is so far behind it's a shame. I don't think they will catch up either, especially with him in the class."

It was 1:00 when Mr. Martin came into the room and told the teachers that they could go and pick up their students. He said that they had another group to feed and he would announce the schedule over the P.A. system.

NOTE: I stayed at the school, in the teachers' room for ten more minutes. There was no announcement about the schedule so I went to the office. The secretary told me that they hadn't

decided how to work it out yet. I felt that I had been there enough for one day and left. Although I didn't accomplish what I had intended to I felt the day was very worthwhile. I have a meeting with Ned Carson tomorrow, Nov. xx, 1964, and think I will follow some of the ninth graders I have met today after the meeting.

Susan Marchand

October xx, 1964

Jefferson Junior High

ASSEMBLY - When there is an all-school assembly, the homeroom period is extended to 45 minutes, and the rest of the periods are shortened to about 35 minutes. This day was the first assembly of the semester. The children were brought into the room by homerooms. A seating plan had been worked out by Mr. Hess, but it seems that a little confusion arose over that and there were several minutes of standing around while it was straightened out, or resolved somehow. Then the lines began to move again and the auditorium (lunch room) filled with children. Finally, when all of the children were seated, I was aware of what seemed like a great number of patrolling adults walking up and down the aisles. I believe that every teacher in the school was there. Each stayed near her own group and those without homerooms ranged up and down. Mr. Sutherland moved in and out and around, giving directions to one or another child, as did the teachers, cautioning them to quit fighting or stop making so much noise or something like that.

NOTE: I found myself conflicted about what I saw. The room, with the teachers standing all around, reminded me of a prison with guards posted everywhere. On the other hand, if supervision of this sort were not needed, potentially at least, they would have some other method of dealing with the placement of teachers. It seems that the teachers feel that they need to be in evidence all of the time. Just the fact that they are there in the area appears not to be a sufficient restraint on the children. Even with the teachers in constant attendance, moving back and fourth, cautioning this one, removing that one, the children sitting where the teacher is not looking will engage in some forbidden activity...a punch or a pinch. Sometimes they get picked up by some other teacher. Often this is a source of amusement to the children involved. I have the feeling that the kids do a lot of this sort of thing just to add a little additional strain on the teacher. Many of the teachers ignore a lot of this activity, but if it isn't checked sometime, it is apt to go on until the whole class is disturbed by it or until the teacher is

ready to commit mayhem, or both. The teachers with the loud voices do seem to have an advantage over the rest in this situation.

After the confusion of entering, the school population settled down rather promptly. For one thing, they had to sit just as they filed in from their homerooms, so this did not give them a chance to sit next to their special friends. For another, I got the feeling that the children were really looking forward to what was going to happen. Mr. Hess made the announcement of what the program was about and who was in it and turned the meeting over to the performers. There was an assortment of interesting things on the program. There was a choral reading, a song by a girls' chorus and songs in which the audience participated, and a film strip.

We began with the Pledge of Allegiance. Then a girl announced that we would hear the story of the lives of some famous Negro Americans and some other well known and patriotic people. A series of children appeared and read short and very interesting biographical sketches of about eight Negroes who had made great contributions to their country. I couldn't understand some of it because the children were not using the mike very well. However, I learned one thing I had never known...that a Negro was the founder of Chicago! I grew up there and never knew that! Well, the program was very nice and one of the nicest things was the fact that the children were a good audience. They had been cautioned at the outset about not having "any of this unnecessary hissing and booing." I can't imagine that this caution from the soft spoken Mr. Hess, said only once, would have constrained the whole auditorium full of children. I think they were quiet because they were enjoying the program. I sat next to two white boys. They were very quiet. Also non-participating. They weren't talking to me, they wouldn't sing, they didn't even say the pledge, I don't think, although I would want to be very sure before I accused them of so gross a breach of patriotic fervor. The whole program was patriotic, heroes of the country-type theme. The film strip was on Francis Scott Key and ended with a stirring rendition of the Star Spangled Banner played by the Air Force Band and accompanied by a short film of jet aircraft winging majestically through yonder wild blue. Then Mr. Sutherland got up to say a few flag-waving words, which incorporated every conceivable cliché. "When you see that old flag flying, you should feel chills up your spine. I've known grown men to cry when they have been away from home and they see that banner and behind it, all it represents. We live in a great country where it is possible to achieve our dreams..." and so on. It

was pretty bad. I guess the kids thought so too because feet started to move a little and there was a general sense of uneasy movement in the room. Well, after a while we gave all the performers a 'big hand' and the first assembly of the year was over.

MRS. KELLSEY - ENGLISH - 7th grade

This is another of the combined classes, and this group is what is known as the able group. For some reason I did not get the count in this class. Forgot it. However, I would estimate that there were about 15 children. Among them were:

James Brown (W)
Anne Fremont (N)
Judy Jones (W)
Barbara Palmerston (W)

Marcia Yale (N)
Shara Lewis (N)
Marty Boyd (N)

The subject for the day was punctuation. Three girls were asked to go to the board and write sentences which were dictated to them. Each sentence was then looked at by the class to see if the punctuation was correct. In each case it was perfect. The children were attentive and there was very little fooling around. James Brown is a short boy with red hair, a little plump and has the funniest little voice imaginable. It sounds as though he is just coming down with or just getting over a case of laryngitis. Mrs. Kellsey had been telling the group that when the word "No" comes at the beginning of a sentence, it is usually answering a question and is followed by a comma. James raised his hand and said with assurance, "A case where 'no' would begin a sentence and not be followed by a comma would be a sentence like, 'No socks are in the drawer.'" For some reason this threw Mrs. Kellsey. She really did not know either what it was James was trying to say or, in fact, whether or not the 'no' in this case would be separated from the rest of the sentence with a comma. She flubbed around and finally told him that actually, his example was not even a sentence, and James did not get credit for an astute observation in which he was absolutely right. At a later time, James called attention to something Mrs. Kellsey said which was incorrect and Mrs. Kellsey went out of her way then to commend James for picking up her error and encouraged the class to do the same whenever she made one. She explained that she made many errors, as do all human beings, but she was willing to admit it and also to try to find out the correct things for them if she did not know them herself and this is the way she hoped all of them would try to be, too.

NOTE: I felt during this little talk with the

children that Mrs. Kellsey was telling James something. I think she felt that she had handled the other episode poorly and that in making such a point of commending him for calling her attention to her error, whatever it was, and it was a small one, that she was making an apology to him. His reaction to all of this was noncommittal.

The class moved along swiftly with few or no upsets. I don't recall Mrs. Kellsey having to ask for quiet once. Of course, this is the able group. These are the children who have the intellect and whose intellect is not hampered by other problems. All the bad kids are in with the dumb kids and one can't tell from performance which is which. I often have the feeling that if some of these children would spend as much time learning as they do getting into trouble, our country would be ever so wealthy in superbly educated youth. The trouble is apparently that they can't. And the WHY is the big question.

MRS. KELLSEY - 107 - H.R. 104 - 2nd period

The children came into the room and took their seats without too much delay. This group is Mr. Burton's homeroom. They are all Negro except for Karen Meldrum. She is a white girl with hair that never looks combed, socks crumpled around her shoes, blouse not particularly clean and certainly not pressed, skirt with the opening twisted around to the front...a print blouse and a plaid skirt. She really looks a mess. And I get the feeling that this is not entirely due to poverty. Even poor children can be clean and have their hair combed. All I could think of when I saw her and watched her was the word "slattern," and I wondered what her mother looks like.

Only 16 of 23 pupils in the class were in attendance today. Mrs. Kellsey did not have a seating chart so I could not determine which children were absent. When I asked her for the seating chart she explained that she did not need one because she always knew the names, but if I needed to know who was who and where, she would solve that problem for me with no difficulty. She indicated that I was to go into the room and take a seat, which I did. After the class got started, Mrs. Kellsey took a moment to say that, "Our visitor, Mrs. Marchand, would like to get to know each of you children by name, so I am going to have each of you stand and introduce yourselves to her. We'll start up here with Sam Butler. Sam...?" Sam got up and twisted around a little bit and said, "Sam Butler." I said, "Hello, Sam." Somehow my answering changed the feeling in the room. They were not standing up and calling off their names for someone, they were actually being introduced. As each child spoke, I answered them and spoke their name. Some of them had to

be encouraged to give their names more than once and to make them intelligible and this caused some laughter. When they were all through, I said, "Thank you all. I hope I will be able to remember all your names, but chances are I'll have to ask you a time or two before I can remember." One of the boys (whose name I couldn't remember) said, "What is your name again?" This brought down the house.

After this, it was down to business. We were now at the Republican headquarters, after the convention. Myron Roth had been elected by the convention as the Republican candidate for president. Now this was the platform committee at work. Together the class worked out a platform, guided by Mrs. Kellsey. The platform agreed upon was:

1. Better food in the cafeteria. And more.
2. More field trips.
3. More recreational and social activities.

The next task was to get campaign speeches written. Mrs. Kellsey explained that the candidates with the most promises are the ones who get the votes. "You know that when President Kennedy came out in favor of civil rights he got the votes from the Negroes. So we have to decide what it is we are going to promise the public we are going to do, and how we are going to do it." Marlo Brayton said, "Suppose someone breaks his promises and don't do what he say he going to do?" Mrs. Kellsey answered, "Well, he is not supposed to make promises he can't fulfill."

Mrs. Kellsey helped the children write a campaign address. Actually she wrote it and talked about it as she did so. She pointed out the things which would have to be considered and then phrased it in what she hoped was a convincing way. She showed them how the sentences should be spoken with enthusiasm and deep feeling. "Do you KNOW that every school in Centerline is ahead of us in social activities? Do you REALIZE that we have not had a single dance as yet? I'll bet you don't even KNOW the latest dance steps! If I am elected, (or if you are making the speech for Myron you would say) If our candidate is elected, I promise you, he will make an appointment to talk to Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Sears and GET these recreational activities for you." She asked for a volunteer to give the same speech and Darbie Johnson raised his hand. He was great. He used expression, he ad-libbed, he used his body and his hands as though he were doing some kind of a dance. When his hand went out to emphasize a point, his shoulder lowered and his whole body turned a little. You could have set it to music. The children thought it was great, too, and

there was an outburst of spontaneous applause when he finished. It was decided that Darbie should represent them and make his speech to the Democrats in Mrs. Sullivan's room. There was a flurry of activity while they made up campaign buttons and a quick sign to attach to Myron's sweater. As this was going on, a delegation from the Democrats came in and asked permission to place a poster on the bulletin board. They were careful to look around and make mental notes on what was going on just in case they might gain some valuable information. One boy carefully read the speech on the board and then went over to his friend and whispered in his ear, pointing to the board as he did so. Probably went back and incorporated the Republican platform into their own. (Yesterday I was in with the Democrats and for them. Today I'm a Republican. I wanted to warn my fellow Republicans about this underhanded spy technique. I realized now that I was really getting carried away.)

The speech makers went off to speak. The kids left in the room began to cut up a lot. Karen Meldrum tried to get in with some of the girls who were doing bad things, like opening the door and stepping out in the hall. (This is a very "sinful" activity and the girls were reveling in it. There is something about flirting with potential danger!) When Karen tried to join in, they cut her dead, turning their backs on her and even whispering together to make the exclusion all the more final. She turned and walked back to her desk, doing what she thought was a version of the rhythmic dance-like step that some boys were doing in the back of the room. A boy near me was drumming on his desk using his finger tips, the heel of his palm and the under side of his arm for variance in time and quality of the beat. Karen picked up her pen and began pounding unimaginatively on her desk. Then she leaned forward and began to finger the hair of the girl ahead of her. The girl did not like this at all and shook her head impatiently. However, Karen drew her into conversation, and the girl did not shut her off unkindly but chatted with her.

NOTE: Karen obviously wants to be a part of the group, any group. She tried in four different ways in those few minutes to do the things the group does and in the group's way. The children weren't having any part of it however. She attempts many attention-getting tricks, but apparently not during the class time. I remember that she was very quiet during this class at least. I think she is a child with a great many problems. I did not see anything which I viewed

as racial overtones in the children's rejection of Karen. They simply did not like her. She wasn't 'in' and when she tried to copy the 'in' behavior, she was ludicrous.

The children in this room were almost as enthusiastic about this convention project as were the children in Mrs. Sullivan's room. I thought Mrs. Sullivan's approach was more appealing, but this is due to a difference in the personalities of the two teachers involved.

APPENDIX E

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER
Syracuse University

PARENT OPINION SURVEY
August, 1965

I. D. # _____

Name _____ Address _____

	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>RESULTS</u>	<u>INTERVIEWER</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Comments:

MRS. _____ ? HOW DO YOU DO. MY NAME IS _____. I'M
FROM THE SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT CENTER. WE'RE INTERESTED IN FINDING OUT HOW
PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT THE SCHOOLS IN CENTERLINE AND WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU YOUR OPINIONS ABOUT
THEM. WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU FEEL THE SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THE NEEDS OF YOUR CHILDREN.
OF COURSE, ANYTHING YOU SAY TO ME IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND NO ONE BUT MYSELF AND A FEW
TRUSTED COLLEAGUES WILL EVER KNOW WE INTERVIEWED YOU. YOUR NAME WILL NEVER BE PRINTED PUB-
LICLY AND ANYTHING WE REPORT WILL BE IN TERMS OF PEOPLE WHO, LIKE YOU, ARE WILLING TO GIVE
US A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME TO TELL US HOW THEY FEEL.

MAY I COME IN?

First, we would like to ask you a few questions about where you are living.

1. About how long have you lived in Centerline?

_____ Yrs. _____ Mos.

_____ All my life (SKIP TO Q. 2)

A. Where did you live just before coming to Centerline?

_____ City _____ State

2. About how long have you lived in this apartment (house)?

_____ Yrs. _____ Mos.

A. Where did you live just before moving in here?

_____ Street _____ City _____ State

3. Altogether, how many people (adults and children) are there living here with you?

(TURN TO NEXT PAGE)

4. Now, we would like to ask you a few facts about you and those living with you so we can get a picture about your present family situation.

A. We will be talking about you first of all.

(USING THE FOLLOWING ITEMS, ASK ABOUT THE RESPONDENT FIRST: OBTAIN THE NAMES OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS: AND THEN ASK ABOUT EACH MEMBER IN TURN.)

- a. What is your (his, her) age?
- b. Are you (Is he, she) presently married (M), single (S), separated (SEP), divorced (D), or widowed (W)?
- c. (ASK ONLY UNDER PART B. OF THIS Q.): What is (his, her) relationship to you?
- d. What was the highest grade that you (he, she) completed in school (including college)?
- e. What is your (his, her) religious affiliation? Denomination?
- f. Where were you (was he, she) born? Town or City, State, Country?
- g. Are you (Is he, she) working at the present time? Full-time (F), part-time (P), unemployed (U), retired (R), or what (specify)?
IF WORKING, ASK h-j IF HUSBAND UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED, ASK h.
h. What is your (his, her) main occupation? OR What was his last occupation? (GET AS SPECIFIC A RESPONSE AS POSSIBLE)
- i. About how much do you (does he, she) earn yearly? (OBTAIN GROSS YEARLY EARNINGS. IF NECESSARY, OBTAIN GROSS MONTHLY OR WEEKLY EARNINGS.)
- j. About how much do you (does he, she) contribute to the family income?

B. Now, may I have the names of the other people living here at the present time?

NAME	1.	2.	3.
SEX			
a. AGE			
b. M.S.			
c. REL. TO RESP.			
d. EDUC.			
e. RELIG.			
f. WHERE BORN			
g. WORK			
h. OCCUPATION			
i. SALARY			
j. CONTRIBUTION			

[The information detailed on the previous page was sought for each member of the household. Additional space was provided.]

C. Do you have any children not living at home at the present time?

_____ Yes (ASK THE FOLLOWING ABOUT EACH)

_____ No (SKIP TO Q. 5)

D. Now, may I have the names of any children not living at home at the present time?

- a. What is his/her age?
 - b. Is he/she presently married (M), single (S), separated (SEP), divorced (D), or widowed (W)?
 - c. What is his/her relationship to you?
 - d. What was the highest grade that he/she completed in school (including college)?
 - e. What is his/her religious affiliation? Denomination?
 - f. Where was he/she born? Town or City, State, Country?
 - g. Is he/she working at the present time? Full-time (F), part-time (P), unemployed (U), retired (R), or what (specify)?
- IF WORKING, ASK h-j
- h. What is his/her main occupation? (GET AS SPECIFIC A RESPONSE AS POSSIBLE)
 - i. About how much does he/she earn yearly? (OBTAIN GROSS YEARLY EARNINGS. IF NECESSARY, OBTAIN GROSS MONTHLY OR WEEKLY EARNINGS.)
 - j. About how much does he/she contribute to the family income?

	1.	2.	3.
NAME			
SEX			
a. AGE			
b. M.S.			
c. REL. TO RESP.			
d. EDUC.			
e. RELIG.			
f. WHERE BORN			
g. WORK			
h. OCCUPATION			
i. SALARY			
j. CONTRIBUTION			

[This sheet refers to the items detailed on the previous page. Additional space was provided.]

5. Altogether, how much income (earnings, pensions, unemployment insurance, etc.) has your family had in the past year? (IF YOU CANNOT GET YEARLY INCOME, GET INCOME BY MONTH OR WEEK.)
- \$ _____ per _____.
6. What do you consider yourself: a Democrat, Republican, Liberal, Conservative, Independent, or what?
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ Democrat | _____ Conservative |
| _____ Republican | _____ Independent |
| _____ Liberal | _____ Other (specify) |
7. (IF RESPONDENT HAS A HUSBAND) What about your husband? Does he consider himself a Democrat, Republican, Liberal, Conservative, Independent, or what?
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ Democrat | _____ Conservative |
| _____ Republican | _____ Independent |
| _____ Liberal | _____ Other (specify) |
8. We would like to ask you some questions about one of your children. Before that, we want to know which of your children are going to school in Centerline.
- Would you mind telling me again the names of your children who are attending school in Centerline?
 - What school was he (she) in at the end of this last year?
 - Was he (she) promoted this year?
 - What school did he (she) attend the year before last?
 - Was he (she) promoted that year?

a. NAME	b. LAST SCHOOL	c. PROMOTED?	d. FORMER SCHOOL	e. PROMOTED?
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Now, let's talk about the school that _____ (child) was in last year. That was _____ School.

524

A. How would you rate _____ School as far as _____ (read each item below):
Would you say it is excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor?

Item	Rating
a. how much the children seem to be learning	_____
b. how much interest most parents show in this school	_____
c. how well the children behave	_____
d. how much interest the teachers show in their pupils	_____

10. How well would you say _____ (child) got along in _____ School last year as far as _____ (read each item below): Would you say excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor?

<u>Item</u>	<u>Rating</u>
a. school marks	_____
b. the way he (she) behaves in school	_____
c. interest in school work	_____

11. How would you rate the school _____ (child) attended the year before last year (_____ School) as far as _____ (read each item below): Would you say it is excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor?

<u>Item</u>	<u>Rating</u>
a. how much the children seem to be learning	_____
b. how much interest most parents show in this school	_____
c. how well the children behave	_____
d. how much interest the teachers show in their pupils	_____

12. How well would you say _____ (child) got along in that school the year before last as far as _____ (read each item below): Would you say excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor?

<u>Item</u>	<u>Rating</u>
a. school marks	_____
b. the way he (she) behaved in school	_____
c. interest in school work	_____

13. Would you say _____ (child) got along better, about the same, or worse with the children in _____ School this last year than he did in _____ School the year before?

_____ Better
_____ About the same
_____ Worse

14. Do you think _____ (child) has more in common, about the same, or less in common with the children in _____ School he attended last year than in _____ School?

_____ More in common
_____ About the same
_____ Less in common

15. Did _____ (child) make any new friends who are not from this neighborhood
in _____ School last year?

_____ yes

_____ no (SKIP TO Q. 16)

A. Overall, how do you feel about these new friends? Do you approve of them very much,
approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or disapprove of them very much?

_____ Approve very much _____ Disapprove somewhat

_____ Approve somewhat _____ Disapprove very much

16. How often does _____ (child) talk to you about what's going on at school:
often, once in a while, seldom, or never?

_____ Often _____ Seldom

_____ Once in a while _____ Never

17. During the past school year, did _____ (child) complain that a teacher
or classmate treated (him, her) unfairly?

_____ Yes

_____ No (SKIP TO Q. 18)

A. What happened? (How was (he, she) mistreated?)

18. During the past year, did you go to _____ School to talk about _____
(child)?

_____ Yes

_____ No (SKIP TO Q. 19)

A. What was the reason for the visit?

B. How were you treated? (That is, were they courteous, friendly, helpful, etc.?)

19. During the past year, did you go to _____ School to visit on a special parent's day or night?

_____ Yes

_____ No

20. During the past year, did you go to _____ School to attend a meeting of a parent's club like PTA or Mother's Club?

_____ Yes

_____ No

21. Now I'd like to talk over with you some of your ideas about _____ (child's) future. First, about how much education do you think _____ (child) needs to make a decent living?

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 5. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 7. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 8. _____ |

7th or 8th grade
Finish junior high
Some high school
Finish high school

Business or technical school
Some college
Finish college
Post-graduate college training

22. If you had your own way, how far in school would you like _____ (child) to go?

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. _____ | 7th or 8th grade | 5. _____ | Business or technical school |
| 2. _____ | Finish junior high | 6. _____ | Some college |
| 3. _____ | Some high school | 7. _____ | Finish college |
| 4. _____ | Finish high school | 8. _____ | Post-graduate college training |

23. What is the highest level of education you expect _____ (child) to finish?

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. _____ | 7th or 8th grade | 5. _____ | Business or technical school |
| 2. _____ | Finish junior high | 6. _____ | Some college |
| 3. _____ | Some high school | 7. _____ | Finish college |
| 4. _____ | Finish high school | 8. _____ | Post-graduate college training |

24. Suppose your child were unable to get as much education as you would like him (her) to. Which of the following would be most likely to hinder him (her)? (PLACE A "1" BEFORE THE REASON.)

- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|----------|--|
| 1. _____ | The neighborhood he lives in | 6. _____ | How well he gets along with other people |
| 2. _____ | His teachers | 7. _____ | His friends |
| 3. _____ | His ability | 8. _____ | The school he goes to |
| 4. _____ | Discrimination | 9. _____ | Other (specify) |
| 5. _____ | Not having enough money | | |

A. Which is the next most likely reason for your child's not getting as much education as you would like? (PLACE A "2" BEFORE THE SECOND REASON.)

B. What would you say is the third most likely reason? (PLACE A "3" BEFORE THE THIRD REASON?)

25. Finally, we would like your opinion about integration of schools. How do you feel about children of different races going to school together: Do you approve of it very much, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or disapprove very much?

_____ Approve very much _____ Disapprove somewhat

_____ Approve somewhat _____ Disapprove very much

26. Have your feelings about this changed in the past year? In other words, do you feel more favorable toward it than last year, about the same, or less favorable?

_____ More favorable

_____ About the same

_____ Less favorable

27. Do you think there are problems involved in busing students to school?

_____ Yes

_____ No (SKIP A.)

A. What problems are involved?

INTERVIEWER OBSERVATIONS

COMPLETE ITEMS 1-3 FOR EACH RESPONDENT

1. Race:
White.....4
Negro.....5
Latin-American.....6
 (Mexican, P. R.)
Other.....7
 (Indian, Chinese, etc.)
Non-white, but indeterminate.....8
Indeterminate.....9
2. Cooperativeness of respondent:
Very cooperative.....4
Fairly cooperative.....5
Not very cooperative.....6

532

3. Presence of spouse during interview:
Spouse present all or nearly all (75% or more) of the time.....4
Spouse present some (15% - 74%) of the time.....5
Spouse present only short time (less than 15%) or only intermittently.....6
Spouse not present at all.....7
RESPONDENT NOT PRESENTLY MARRIED.....8
4. Presence of child(ren) 5 years or older during the interview:
Child(ren) present all or nearly all (75% or more) of the time.....4
Child(ren) present some (15% - 74%) of the time.....5
Child(ren) present only short time (less than 15%) or only intermittently.....6
No children present at all.....7
NO CHILDREN 6 YEARS OR OLDER IN HOUSEHOLD.....8

5. Presence of other persons -- members or non-members of household:

- Someone else present all or nearly all (75% or more) of the time.....4
- Someone else present some (15% - 74%) of the time.....5
- Someone else present only short time (less than 15%) or only intermittently.....6
- No other person present any of the time.....7

6. Duration of interview: (RECORD ACTUAL NUMBER OF MINUTES SPENT DOING INTERVIEW -- EXCLUDING INTERRUPTIONS)

7. Interviewer _____

8. Date of Interview _____

9. ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LIVING ROOM, IF POSSIBLE; IF NOT, TALK ABOUT A PARTICULAR ROOM, FOLLOWING THE PRIORITY LISTED BELOW:

CIRCLE CODE FOR ROOM BEING DESCRIBED

- Living room.....4
- Dining room.....5
- Kitchen.....6
- Bedroom.....7
- Study, den, etc.....8
- Unable to see any of the above rooms.....9

IF YOU OBSERVED ANY OF THE ROOMS LISTED ABOVE, ANSWER SERIES OF ITEMS 10-15

10. Were the room and furnishings:	
Clean (most things dustless, spotless, stainless).....	4
Somewhat dirty (some things dusty, spotted, or stained).....	5
Very dirty (many things dusty, spotted, or stained).....	6
11. Orderliness of room and furnishings:	
Articles in place or usable order (neat and uncluttered).....	4
Articles in mild disorder (somewhat sloppy or cluttered).....	5
Articles in great disorder (very sloppy or cluttered).....	6
12. Condition or repair of furnishings:	
Articles in good repair (fixed, sewed or mended, or new).....	4
Articles in somewhat poor repair (some broken, ripped, frayed or torn)....	5
Articles in very poor repair (many broken, ripped, frayed or torn).....	6
13. Quantity of furnishings:	
Crowded (unnecessary pieces, more than room can hold).....	4
Adequate (complete setting, no unnecessary pieces).....	5
Vacant space (not enough pieces for complete setting, almost bare).....	6
14. Covering of floor:	
Bare.....	4
Linoleum.....	5
Throw rugs.....	6
Carpet.....	7
Throw rugs and linoleum.....	8
Throw rugs and carpet.....	9

15. Window covering

None.....	1
Improvised.....	2
Shades only.....	3
Blinds only.....	4
More elaborate.....	5

Appendix F--Papers Based on the Project

In addition to this report, a number of papers based on the project have been prepared for appropriate professional audiences. Additional material is in preparation, and future efforts will be directed toward the further integration of the findings of this study with other relevant knowledge and experience. Papers already published, presented, or accepted for publication or oral presentation include the following:

- Beker, J. School Desegregation and Integration: Lessons from a Medium-Sized Northern City. Invited paper prepared for the Sixth Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Urban Areas, Teachers College, Columbia University, June, 1967.
- Beker, J., & Sundblad, L. M. Elementary School Desegregation and Sociometric Choice. Paper presented at the Meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, New York City, March, 1967.
- Beker, J., Sundblad, L. M., & Holmes, P. R. The Academic, Personal, and Social Development of Negro Elementary School Children Bused to Promote Racial Integration: Comparisons after One Year. Paper presented at the Meetings of the Eastern Psychological Association, Boston, April, 1967.
- Beker, J., Sundblad, L. M., & Holmes, P. R. Changes in Junior High School Pupils' Educational and Vocational Aspirations during a School Desegregation Experience. Paper accepted for presentation at the Meetings of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D. C., September, 1967.
- Cagle, L. T., & Beker, J. Social Characteristics and Educational Aspirations of Northern, Lower Class, Negro Parents Who Accepted and Declined a School Integration Opportunity for their Children. Paper presented at the Meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Miami, August, 1966. (Accepted for publication, in slightly revised form, in the Journal of Negro Education.)
- LaPorte, R., Jr., Beker, J., & Willie, C. V. The Evolution of Public Educational Policy: School Desegregation in a

Northern City. Paper presented at the Meetings of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, February, 1966. (Published in Urban Education, 1966, 2, 150-162.)

Nash, K. B. Mental Health Roles in the School Integration Process. Paper presented at the Meetings of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D. C., March, 1967.

Willie, C. V., & Beker, J. A Study of School Integration. Integrated Education, 1965, No. 15, 30-32.